

Thomas May Esqr

Ætatis Sua 55.



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A

BREVIARY

OF THE

HISTORY

Of the

Parliament

Of England.

Expreſſed in three Parts:

1. *The Cauſes and Beginnings of the Civil War of* England.
2. *A ſhort mention of the Progreſs of that Civil War.*
3. *A compendious Relation of the Original and Progreſs of the Second Civil War.*

First written in Latine, & after done into Engliſh,
By *Thomas May*, Eſq;

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The Cauſes and Beginnings OF The Civil War of *England*.

OF the Parliament of *England*, and beginning of that ſad War, which for ſo many yeers raged within the bowels of a diſtreſſed Kingdom, whoſoever will write, though never ſo briefly, muſt of neceſſity premiſe ſomewhat touching the Cauſes (according to the ſtate of the affairs and times) of aſſembling that Parliament.

And though the condition of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were during that time no whit happier, (which being ſubject to the ſame King, were expoſed to the ſame Calamity) our diſcourſe eſpecially ſhall be of *England*, as the nobleſt Kingdom, and the Royal Seat; from whence the diſtemper might firſt ariſe, and be derived to the reſt. And wonderful it may

seem, how great the distemper of that Government was, which ingendered so great a disease! how great the malignity of that disease, to which a Parliament was not sufficient Medicine!

Fourty yeers old was King *Charles*, and fifteen yeers had he reigned, when this Parliament was called: so long had the Laws been violated, (more then under any King) the Liberties of the people invaded, and the authority of Parliament (by which Laws and Liberties are supported) trodden under foot: which had by degrees much discontented the *English Nation*.

For the King, within the first four yeers of his Reign, had called three Parliaments, and soon dissolved them all, before they could any way benefit the Commonwealth, or redress the least grievance of the People. In the second, he granted and signed the *Petition of Right*; but suddenly breaking up that Parliament, he acted the same things in violation of Laws, which he had done before. So that it was manifest, that the Peoples Liberties, by grant of that Petition, were not fortified, but utterly overthrown; and it appeared, neither Laws themselves could give protection, nor the Kings Faith security to the People. After the dissolution of the third Parliament, men

were

were forbidden by Proclamation to ſpeak any more of Parliaments. In this Interval, the people at home were fleeced by Monopolies, and many ways exacted upon by illegal Taxes: abroad, ſcarce any Negotiations were made, but ſuch as were deſtructive to Religion and the Commonwealth. In the beginning of his Reign, an unhappie and diſhonorable Expedition was made againſt the Spaniard, to ſurpriſe *Cales*: another, more ſad then that, againſt the French, in the following yeer, at the Iſle of *Rhee*: but that, of all other was moſt deſtructive to the Proteſtant Religion, that King *Charles*, not long before that time, had lent a ſtrong Navie to the King of *France*; by whoſe force the Proteſtants Ships through all *France* were vanquiſhed and ſcattered, and the miſerable Town of *Rochel* ſubdued by Famine, the worſt of all Enemies.

The King, in the mean time, by many illegal ways, raiſed money through *England*: large ſums of money were exacted throughout the whole Kingdom; default of Knighthood, under the ſhadow of an abſolute Law. Tunnage and Poundage were received without the ordinary courſe of Law; and though they were taken under pretence of guarding the Seas, yet that great Tax of Ship-money

was ſet on foot under the ſame colour, *&c.*

Theſe things were accompanied with the enlargement of Foreſts, contrary to *Magna Charta*; the forcing of Coat and Conduct-money; taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands in many Counties, *&c.*

Nor was there any remedy left: for no Courts of Judicature could give redreſs to the people for theſe Illegal ſufferings; whilſt Judges were diſplaced by the King, for not complying with his will; and ſo awed, that they durſt not do their duties: for, to hold a Rod over them, a clauſe was altered in their Patents.

By this time, all thoughts of ever having a Parliament were quite baniſhed; ſo many Oppreſſions ſet on foot, ſo many illegal actions done, that the onely way to juſtifie all, was to do that one greater, To take away the means which was ordained to redreſs them, the lawful Government of *England* by Parliaments.

Whilſt the Kingdom was in this condition, the ſerious and juſt men of *England* who were not intereſſed in theſe Oppreſſions, could not but entertain ſad thoughts of what miſchief muſt needs follow ſo great an injuſtice: But another ſort of men (eſpecially Lords and Gentlemen) by whom the preſſu es

ſures of Government were not much felt, did nothing but applaud the happineſs of *England*, calling thoſe ingrateful and factious ſpirits, who complained of the breach of Laws and Liberties; that the Kingdom abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinde of elegancies, more then ever; and, that it was the honour of a people, that their Monarch ſhould live ſplendidly, and not be curbed at all in his Prerogative, *&c.*

The Courtiers would begin to diſpute againſt Parliaments in their ordinary diſcourſe, That they were too injurious to the Kings Prerogative: ſome of the greateſt States-men and Privie Councellors would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of *England*, when the word *Liberty of the Subject* was named.

Though the Kingdoms Liberties were thus oppreſſed, yet Peace continued; and *England* ſeemed happie in that tranquillity, until the fatal Coal, which afterwards was blown into ſo great a fire through the three Kingdoms, began to be kindled in the yeer 1637. by a deſigne which the King had upon *Scotland*; which was (as pretended) to make a Conformity of Church-Worſhip, and Eccleſiaſtical Government, between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. The dignity and pomp

of Prelacie had been much of late promoted in *England*; in pursuance whereof, many temporal Offices and Honours were conferred upon persons Ecclesiastical, many Ceremonies and Innovations brought into the Church, and too neer approaches made in some points of Doctrine to the Romish Church, and a great contempt thrown upon the other Reformed Churches in *Europe*: Popery seemed to be much countenanced in the Court; and by reason of the Queens great power with the King, several Nuncio's from the Pope, as *Panzani*, *Conn*, and *Rosetti*, had been received with great honour in the Court of *England*.

The King had made great preparations for that work in *Scotland*, and bestowed many temporal offices and dignities upon Bishops in that Kingdom. In particular, 11 of the Scotish Bishops (being in all but 14) were made Privie Councellors. But this displeased the Scots, to whom Episcopacie it self was not acceptable; and having been once thrown out of that Kingdom, was not restored but by great endeavour and policie of King *James*.

A book of Lyturgie was sent by the King into *Scotland*, in the year 1637. with an express Command, that they should read it publikely

likely in their Churches. The Scots complained, that a thing of ſo great concernment, having not been allowed by their Church in a National Synod, ſhould be impoſed upon them: they complained likewiſe, that it was not the ſame with the book of *England*, but alterations were made; ſome of them (they confeſſed) were for the better, but more for the worſe. Laſtly, they affirmed, that whereſoever that book varies from the Engliſh Lyturgie, it approaches directly to the Romane Miſſal, and all the parts of Popery are there. But the King ſeemed to excuſe thoſe alterations, in his great Declaration. Theſe are his words, (which were not ſatisfactory to the Scots:)

We ſuppoſing that they might have taken ſome offence, if We ſhould have tendered them the Engliſh Service-book totidem verbis; *and that ſome factious ſpirits would have endeavoured to have miſconſtrued it as a badge of dependencie of that Church upon this of* England, *which We had put upon them, to the prejudice of their Laws and Liberties: We held it fitter that a new Book ſhould be compoſed by their own Biſhops, in ſubſtance not differing from that of* England, *that ſo the Romane party might not upbraid us with any weighty or material differences in our Lyturgies; and yet in ſome few inſenſible alterations differing*

from that, it might truely and justly be reputed a Book of that Churches own composing, and established by Our Royal authority, as King of Scotland.

This Book of Lyturgie was read, as the King commanded, in the great Church at *Edinburgh*, but not without a great uproar, in which the Bishop that read it hardly escaped. The Plebeians first stirred; but presently after, the Nobility and Ministers publikely avowed their detestation of that Book: some therefore were sent to the King, to intreat him that he would recal his command concerning it.

But the King was immoveable, and sent another peremptory command for reading of the Book; and that all people who came as Petitioners against it, should depart from *Edinburgh*: which did but increase the number of Petitioners, who intreated the Councel once more to send to the King concerning it: in the mean time, they much accused their Bishops, as the causers of this Innovation.

The King commanded his Councel to receive no more Petitions from them; and sent the Earl of *Traquare* into *Scotland* with a Proclamation, which was published at *Sterlin*; wherein he declared, *That the Bishops were wrongfully accused about the Prayer-book; that he*

he himſelf was the Author of it, and all done by his Command: he condemned their proceedings as tumultuous, and denounced the puniſhment of high-Treaſon to thoſe who perſiſted.

Againſt this Proclamation the Lords of the Commiſſion proteſted, and ſo did the Miniſters and others; juſtifying their aſſembly to be lawful, as tending to Gods glory, the Kings honour, and Liberty of the Nation. Immediately after, they entered into a Solemn Covenant for defence of their Religion and Liberties: This Covenant was ſubſcribed not onely by the Nobles, but all ſorts of men, that their number within few months was many thouſands: the King enraged, did by many Meſſengers condemn that Covenant: the Scots defended it. What was alleadged on both ſides, is more largely expreſſed in that book intituled *Tumultus Scotici.*

In *June*, the Marqueſs *Hamilton*, as Commiſſioner from the King, came to *Edinburgh*; who in vain dealt with the Covenanters to renounce their Covenant; but publiſhed a Proclamation of the Kings, wherein he forbears to preſs the reading of that Prayer-book upon them, and reſolved to call both a Parliament and Synod: but the Covenanters in their Proteſtation declare, that the Kings grants were not large enough to cure their

preſent

preſent diſtempers; and offer ſome particular Exceptions. So great grew the differences and alterations upon ſeveral points, that the Marqueſs *Hamilton* was enforced that yeer to make two journeys into *England* to the King; and at laſt, by the Kings command, called a National Synod, which accordingly began at *Glaſco*, *Novemb.* 1. but within ſeven days, the Marqueſs diſſolved that Synod, alleadging for reaſons, that they had broken the Laws of a free Synod, both in the maner of their Elections, and in other buſineſſes during their ſitting. But they proteſted againſt that diſſolution, and continued their Synod, after that the Marqueſs was gone away; and proceeded in ſuch Laws and Decrees as they judged fit for the preſent State: after which, they diſſolved the Synod, and publiſhed a Declaration from *Edinburgh* to all ſincere and good Chriſtians in *England* concerning their innocencie and intentions.

The King, after a ſharp Proclamation againſt the Scots, which he commanded to be read in all Engliſh Churches, raiſed an Army to ſubdue them by force; in which, the Nobles and all Gentlemen his ſervants were commanded to attend him at *York* the firſt of *April*, with Horſe and Arms ſutable to their degree: the Earl of *Arundel* was made General;

al; and a rich and well-appointed Army at that time and place attended the King.

But the people of *England* in general abhorred that wicked War, as a deſigne to enſlave both Nations; and loved the *Scots* as brethren, perſecuted by the ſame power which had long oppreſſed themſelves: they likewiſe hoped that ſuch an occaſion might neceſſitate the King to call a Parliament in *England*, ſo long wanted there. But the King, while he could make any other ſhift, how lowe ſoever, and diſhonourable, would not endure to think of a Parliament.

The Covenanting Lords of *Scotland* publiſhed a Remonſtrance in anſwer to the Kings Proclamation, and wiſely provided againſt all Invaſions that might be made upon them on any ſide: they ſeized the conſiderable Forts, and diſarmed all ſuſpected perſons, without any great trouble; electing Sir *Alexander Leſly*, an old Souldier, for their General; to whom all the Noble men were content to give obedience: at which time, the King commanded the Parliament of *Scotland* to diſſolve; and his command was obeyed.

But the threatned War did not proceed: it pleaſed God, that by the happie mediation of ſome honeſt Lords of both Nations, and upon a Conference granted, that the Pacification

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was made and ſolemnly declared, on the 18 of *June* 1639. and both Armies were diſbanded within eight and fourty hours. The King granted to the Scots a National Synod, to begin upon the firſt of *Auguſt* following; and a Parliament to begin on the 24 day of the ſame month: ſo that both ſides peaceably retreated home.

But when the King had been but a little time at *London*, his heart was again eſtranged from the Scots, and thoughts of peace: He commanded by Proclamation that Paper, which the Scots avowed to contain the true conditions of the Pacification, to be diſavowed, and burnt by the hands of the Hangman: and the honeſt people of both Nations began to fear another War. The King, about the beginning of *December*, told the Lords of his Council that he intended to call a Parliament in *England*, to begin in *April* following; which being ſpread among the people, made them almoſt amazed; ſo ſtrange a thing was the name of a Parliament grown. But rational men did not like it, that it ſhould be deferred ſo long, and that preparations for a War with *Scotland* went on in the mean time. They were likewiſe troubled, that the Earl of *Strafford*, Deputy of *Ireland*, a man of deep policie, but ſuſpected honeſty, one whom the

King

King then uſed as a boſom-Councellor, was firſt to go into *Ireland*, and call a Parliament in that Kingdom: beſides, the King at that time had broken up the Parliament in *Scotland*; which the Scots complained of, (the buſineſs of State depending) as a great breach of their Liberties, and againſt the Laws of that Kingdom.

Upon which, they ſent ſome Lords into *England*, to intreat the King to grant them a redreſs of ſuch Injuries as they had received ſince the Pacification: which were, That their Parliament was broken off, before any buſineſs done: That *Edinburgh*-Caſtle was Gariſoned with far more Souldiers then were needful: That *Dun-Britain*-Caſtle was Gariſoned with Engliſh Souldiers: That the Scots that traded in *England* and *Ireland*, were enforced to take new Oaths, contrary to their Covenant, and altogether contrary to the Articles of Pacification. The King impriſoned thoſe Lords, ſending one of them (the Earl of *Lowden*) to the Tower, and commanded a Charge of Treaſon to be drawn againſt him, concerning a Letter which the Scotiſh Covenanters had written to the King of *France* for his aſſiſtance, and *Lowden* had ſubſcribed: but the accuſation was frivolous, eaſily anſwered, and came to nothing, becauſe thoſe Letters

ters were not ſent at all; and beſides, it was before the Pacification, upon which an Oblivion of all things was agreed; although the King at the beginning of the Engliſh Parliament produced that Letter againſt them, as a ground of his ſecond War: for now on the thirteenth of *April*, the Parliament of *England* was begun; before which time, the Earl of *Strafford* was returned out of *Ireland*, where he had held a Parliament, and gotten four Subſidies.

The King was very urgent with his Parliament to give money to enable him for a War againſt *Scotland*, and pay that Army and Officers which he had already raiſed; he demanded twelve Subſidies of them, for which he promiſed to releaſe Shipmoney: he promiſed them that he would afterwards redreſs the Kingdoms grievances, but deſired money in the firſt place to go on with his deſigned War.

It was anſwered by many Members of the Houſe in ſeveral Speeches, that redreſs of Grievances was the chiefe end of Parliaments, and ſhould go before Subſidies: *That the King asked a great ſumme of money for releaſing of that which he had no title to hold, but had taken illegally by power:* That the people had no reaſon to pay for a War which they

deſired

desired not, but abhorred; a War not for their good, but their own ruine: that nothing was so just as to punish the contrivers of that wicked War.

But so strange was the obedience and complyance of that Parliament towards the King, that although the money which he asked was against themselves, yet they took the Subsidies into consideration; but while they were debating, the King, whatsoever his reasons were, whether he thought it a delay or not, came into the House on the fifth of *May*, and dissolved the Parliament. The people were grieved in an extraordinary manner to see this Parliament so suddenly broken up; and as much to see the King break his word so immmediately upon the dissolution of it: for he protested in the House at that time, that he would rule for the future as legally as if a Parliament were constantly sitting: Yet nevertheless he imprisoned some Members the next day after, Mr. *Belosis*, Sir *John Hotham*, and M. *Crew*; he commanded the Lord *Brookes* his Study, his Cabinet, and pockets to be searched for Letters: He Commanded the Convocation of Divines to continue their sitting, an unexampled thing, who by authority from him made Canons, and imposed Oaths upon the people, contrary to their Laws and Liberties.

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The King to defray the charges of this War, besides the Contribution of the Clergy, and Papists, issued out again Writs of Shipmoney in a greater proportion then before: he seized the Bullion in the Tower, and took up Commodities to be sold again at an underrate; and consulted about Coyning of brasmoney; but that went not forward.

But the War went on; the Earl of *Strafford* commanding in chiefe, the Earl of *Northumberland* not being in health, who had been appointed General: but the Scots had not been backward; for having been debarred of their trade, and lost their ships by seizure, they entered into *England* with an Army, expressing their intentions in writing to the English, and bringing with them a Petition to the King.

But the King in this War found a greater want then that of Money, which was the hearts of the Souldiers, especially the common Souldiers, who could not be easily brought to engage against the Scots, as hating the Cause; many of them mutinying against their Officers and Commanders; which might be one cause that the War proved not so bloody and fatal as it was designed: some Skirmishes, but not very considerable, happened at *Newburn*, and at *Dunsian*, not far from *Barwick*.

Thus

Thus proceeded this unhappie buſineſs, until ſome Engliſh Peers, Earls, and Barons, about twenty, grieved at the diſhonour which *England* ſuffered by the unhappie actions of the King, made a Petition to him, declaring in ſome part their former ſufferings by illegal Government, the diſſolution of the laſt and other Parliaments, the miſerable condition of the Kingdom at preſent, the ſad conſequence of this wicked War; deſiring him to ſummon a Parliament within ſome convenient time, where the Kingdoms Grievances may be redreſſed, this War compoſed, and the Authors of theſe wicked counſels puniſhed.

Upon this Petition, the King cauſed all the Lords to meet at *York*, on the 24. of *September*, And there told them his intention of calling a Parliament with all poſſible ſpeed; which was to begin on the 3. of *November*.

It was there alſo conſulted and debated how to end this War upon fair termes: and after ſome time ſpent between Lords choſen out of both Nations, the matter was compoſed according to theſe Articles.

1. *A Truce or ceſſation of Arms was made for two moneths till the* 16. *of* December.

2. *That* 850. li. *a day ſhould be paid to the* Scots, *during that Truce.*

3. *That if it were not paid, the* Scots *might*

force it from the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, *and* Durham.

4. *That thoſe Counties ſhould be allowed the* Scots *for their Winter-quarters.*

5. *No new preparations for War, to be made.*

6. *That private Injuries ſhould not break the Truce, ſo ſatisfaction were made upon complaint.*

7. *That Merchants might freely traffique in either Kingdomes, without letters of ſafe conduct; but Souldiers without leave might not paſs their limits.*

Thus was the ſtate of things altered, and that VVar, which was intended for an enſlavement of both Nations, became the bond of Concord between them, and the happie cauſe which neceſſitated the King to call a Parliament in *England*; whereby their juſt Liberties might by the bleſſing of God be vindicated and more aſcertained for the future. Great was the expectation of this Engliſh Parliament, on which the hopes of the people were wholly fixed, as a certain cure of all their long ſufferings; to which they thought the King (having ſo much tranſgreſſed) could not deny any thing, or make the leaſt oppoſition.

That was the cauſe for which they extremely loved the Scots, as the inſtruments of that happi-

happineſs to them; who by reſiſting the Kings intruſions upon themſelves, had enforced him to this viſible means of a cure for *England*; which made the King more hate the Scots, as the ſtoppers of his general deſign; which hatred he could not conceal in his firſt Speech that he made in this Parliament; in which, promiſing all favour and concurrence to any thing that might procure the happineſs of *England*, and promiſing to put himſelf freely and wholly upon the love and affections of his Engliſh Subjects in this Parliament, he inveighed againſt the Scots as Rebels, and deſired that by force of Arms they might be chaſed out of *England*: but the Engliſh Parliament was of another affection towards the Scots, as will appear more hereafter.

The Parliament ſhewed a great and wonderful reſpect to the King, and in many expreſſions gave him humble thanks for Calling them together, without any reflection upon his Perſon for what had paſſed in former miſgovernment; but ſince no cure could be made without ſearching wounds, and that grievances muſt be recited, they reſolved ſo to name them, as to caſt the envy of them upon evil Counſel, and ſtill mention the King with all honour & reverence poſſible; as will appear to any that read the printed Speeches, which at

the beginning of that Seſſion were made in the Houſe by men of Eminency.

Great was the buſineſs, and of various natures were the crimes which this Parliament were to examine, and finde out Delinquents, whom ſo long a miſgovernment had made ſo.

Many Committees were made by the Houſe to eaſe them in this buſineſs: they began with matters of Religion. Divers Miniſters who had been of good lives and converſations, conſcientious in their wayes, and diligent in Preaching, and had by the Biſhops, and thoſe in authority been moleſted, deprived, or impriſoned for not conforming to ſome ceremonies which were impoſed on them, were now by the Parliament relieved, and recompenſed for their ſufferings. Others on the Contrary, that had been ſcandalous, either for looſe and wicked living, or elſe offenders in way of ſuperſtition (both which, to diſcountenance the Puritains, had been frequently preferred) were cenſured and removed.

The Earl of *Strafford*, Leiutenant of *Ireland*, was impeached of high Treaſon, and ſent priſoner to the Tower of *London*: and on the eighteenth day of *December*, *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* impeached of the ſame crime, was committed to the ſame cuſtody.

The

The next day after the Archbiſhop was impeached, Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich* was accuſed of many miſdemeanors in matter of ſuperſtition in his Eccleſiaſtical Government: which tending to the detriment of the Civil State, he was alſo accuſed of Treaſon, and entred into a recognizance of thirty thouſand pounds to appear, with three ſureties bound, each of them in obligations of ten thouſand pounds. Sir *Francis Windebank*, Principal Secretary of State, a man neerly in friendſhip with *Laud* the Archbiſhop, who was thought to be a means of his preferment, was about that time accuſed of extraordinary connivence toward Popiſh Prieſts, or rather of favor to them; and that contrary to the Laws in force againſt them, he had bailed and releaſed a great number: a Committee was appointed to examine his offence, but he, conſcious of the crime objected, and fearing the conſequence, about the begining of *December* fled in a diſguiſe, and went into *France*. Immediately after his flight, the Lord Keeper *Finch* was conſtrained to take the ſame courſe, and fled out of the Kingdom into *Holland*: the crimes objected againſt him were of a various nature.

The firſt committed when he was Speaker of Parliament in the Houſe of Commons in

the fourth year of King *Charles*: which was, for that he disobeyed the House, in refusing to speak when he was commanded by them.

2. The second was for giving illegal and cruel judgements in the Forrest-business, when he was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

3. The third was for threatning of some of the Judges at that time, to give their extra-judicial opinions for Ship-mony.

The last was for drawing an injurious Declaration, after the dissolution of the last Parliament: for which Offences he was Voted by the House of Commons guilty of high Treason; a Charge drawn up against him, and carried up to the Lords upon the 14 of *January*, three weeks after his flight.

Upon the 15 of *February* 1640. a Bill for the Triennial Parliament was presented to the King, and by him signed: which Act being of such great importance to the security of the peoples Liberties by Parliaments, Take the substance thereof as followeth.

BE it Enacted, *That in case there be not a Parliament summoned by Writ under the Great Seal of* England, *and assembled and held before the tenth day of* September, *which shall be in the third yeer next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in this present Parliament, the*

begin-

beginning of the first year to be accompted from the said last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament, and so from time to time, and in all times hereafter, if there shall not be a Parliament assembled and held before the tenth day of September, *which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament before that time assembled and held; the beginning of the first year to be accounted from the said last day of the last meeting and sitting in Parliament: That then in every such case as aforesaid, the Parliament shall assemble and be held in the usual place at* VVestminster, *in such manner, and by such means only as is hereafter in this present Act declared and enacted, and not otherwise, on the second Monday which shall be in the month of November then next ensuing. And the Lord Chancellor of* England, *the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England, *and every Commissioner and Commissioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of* England *for the time being, shall within six dayes after the said tenth day of* September, *in every such third year as aforesaid, in due form of Law, and without any further Warrant or Direction from his Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, Seal, issue forth, and send abroad several and respective Writs to the several and respective Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of* England *and*

Wales, *and to the Constable of the Castle of* Dover, *Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, or his Lieutenant for the time being, and to the Major and Bailiffs of* Barwick upon Tweed, *and to all and every other Officers and Persons to whom Writs have used to be directed, for the electing of the Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses, of, and for the said Counties, Cities, Cinque-ports, and Boroughs of* England & Wales, *respectively, in the accustomed form, to appear and serve in Parliament to be held at* Westminster *on the said Monday, which shall be in* November *aforesaid: which said Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses chosen by vertue of the said Writs, shall then and there appear and serve in Parliament accordingly. And the said Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Commissioner and Commissioners aforesaid, shall respectively take a solemn Oath upon the holy Evangelist for the due issuing of Writs, according to the tenor of this Act,* viz. in hæc verba.

YOu shall Swear, that you shall truly and faithfully issue forth and send abroad all Writs of Summons to Parliament for both Houses, at such time and in such manner as is expressed and enjoyned by an Act of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the preventing of inconveniencies happening by the long intermission of Parliaments.*

Which

Which Oath is forthwith to be taken by the present Lord Keeper, and to be administred by the Clerk of the Crown to every Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Commissioner and Commissioners aforesaid; and that none of the said Officers shall henceforth execute any the said Offices before they have taken the said Oath. And if the said Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or any the said Commissioners shall fail or forbear so to issue out the said Writs, according to the true meaning of this Act, then he or they respectively shall, beside the incurring of the grievous sin of perjury, be disabled, and become by vertue of this Act incapable, ipso facto, to bear his and their said Offices respectively, and be further liable to such punishments as shall be inflicted on him or them by the next or any other ensuing Parliament.

And in case they neglect, then the Peers of this Realm shall by vertue of this Act be enabled, and are enjoyned to meet in the old Palace of Westminster, *in the usual place there, on the third Monday in the said Month of* November; *and they or any twelve or more of them, then and there assembled, shall on or before the last Monday of* November *next following the tenth day of* September *aforesaid, by vertue of this Act, without other Warrant, issue out Writs in the usual form, in the name of the Kings Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, attested under the hands and seals of*

twelve

twelve or more of the said Peers, to the several and respective Sheriffs of the several and respective counties, for the electing of the Knights Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses, to be and appear at the Parliament at Westminster *aforesaid, to be held on the third Monday in* January *then next following: And in case the said Lords, or twelve or more of them, shall fail to issue forth such Writs, or that the said Writs do not come to the said several counties, cities, cinque-ports, and borroughs, so that an election be not thereupon made; And in case there be not a Parliament assembled and held before the three and twentieth day of the said Month of* January; *then in every such case as aforesaid, the Parliament shall assemble, and be held in the usual place at* VVestminster *on the second Tuesday which shall be in the month of* March *next after the said three and twentieth day of* January: *At which Parliament the Peers of this Realm shall make their appearance.*

And for the better assembling of the Knights, Citizens, Barons, and Burgesses to the said Parliament, as aforesaid: It is further Enacted, That the several and respective Sheriffs of their several and respective counties, cities, and boroughs of England *and* VVales, *and the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of both and every of the Universities, and the Major and Bailiffs of the Borough of* Barwick *upon* Tweed, *shall at the several*

veral courts, and places to be held and appointed for their reſpective counties, univerſities, cities, and boroughs, next after the ſaid three and twentieth day of January, cauſe ſuch Knight and Knights, citizen and citizens, Burgeſs and Burgeſſes of their ſaid counties, univerſities, cities and boroughs reſpectively, to be choſen by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner, as if ſeveral and reſpective Writs of ſummons to Parliament under the Great Seal of England had iſſued and been awarded. And in caſe they do not before ten of the clock in the forenoon of the ſame day, wherein the ſeveral and reſpective courts and places ſhall be held or appointed, for their ſeveral & reſpective counties, univerſities, cities, and boroughs as aforeſaid, begin and proceed on according to the meaning of this Law, in cauſing Elections to be made of ſuch Knight and Knights, citizen and citizens, Burgeſs and Burgeſſes of their ſaid counties, Univerſities, cities, and boroughs as aforeſaid; then the Freeholders of each county, and the Maſters and Scholars of every of the Univerſities, and the citizens, and others having voices in ſuch Election reſpectively, in each Univerſity, city and borough, that ſhall be aſſembled at the ſaid courts or places to be held, or appointed, as aforeſaid, ſhall forthwith, without further Warrant, or direction, proceed to the Election of ſuch Knight, &c.

And it is further enacted, That the ſeveral and

and respective Sheriffs shall after the said three and twentieth day of January, *and before the eighth day of* February *then immediately next ensuing, award and send forth their Preceps to the several and respective cities and boroughs, within their several counties, and likewise unto the said Cinque-ports respectively, commanding them respectively to make choice of such citizen and citizens, Barons, Burgeß and Burgesses, to serve in the said Parliament, at the time and place aforesaid: Which said cities, cinque-ports, and boroughs respectively, shall before the last day of the said month of* February, *make election of such citizen and citizens, barons, burgeß or burgesses, as if Writs for summoning of a Parliament under the Great Seal of* England, *had issued and been awarded. And in case no such Precept shall come unto the said cities, cinque-ports, and boroughs respectively, by the time herein limited; Or in case any Precept shall come, and no election be made thereupon before the said last day of* February, *That then the several citizens, burgesses, and other persons that ought to elect and send citizens, barons, and burgesses to the Parliament, shall on the first Tuesday in* March, *then next ensuing the said last day of* February, *make choice of such citizen and citizens, barons, burgeß and burgesses, as if a Writ of Summons under the Great Seal of* England, *had issued and been awarded; and*

shall

ſhall each of them be liable unto ſuch pains & cenſures, for his & their not appearing & ſerving then and there in Parliament, as if he or they had been elected and choſen by vertue of a Writ under the great Seal of England; *& ſhall be likewiſe ſubject unto ſuch further pains and cenſures, as by the reſt of the Knights, citizens, and burgeſſes aſſembled in the Commons houſe of Parl. &c. And the Sheriffs and other Officers and Perſons to whom it appertaineth, ſhall make returns, and accept and receive the returns of ſuch elections in like manner as if Writs of Summons had iſſued, and been executed as hath been uſed and accuſtomed. And in default of the Sheriffs and other Officers reſpectively in not accepting, or making return of ſuch elections, it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the ſeveral Freeholders and other perſons that have elected, to make returns of the Knights, &c. which ſhall be as good and effectual to all intents and purpoſes, as if the Sheriff or other Officers, had received a Writ of ſummons for a Parliament, and had made ſuch returns; any Writ, &c. to the contrary notwithſtanding. And in caſe any perſon ſhall be ſo hardy as to adviſe, or put in execution any ſuch Writs, &c. then he or they ſo offending ſhall incur the penalties contained in the Statute of* Premunire, *made in the* 16 *year of* Rich. *the* 2d. *and be deprived of the benefit of the Law in any caſe, &c.*

And

And if any Sheriff, Constable of the Castle of Dover, *or Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, shall not perform his duty enjoyned by this Act, then he shall lose and forfeit the sum of one thousand pounds; and every county, city, cinque-port, and borough, that shall not make election of their knights, citizens, barons, and burgesses respectively, shall incur the penalties following (that is to say) every County the sum of one thousand pounds, and every City which is no County, two hundred pounds, and every Cinque-Port and Borough the sum of one hundred pounds. All and every of which several forfeitures, and all other forfeitures in this Act mentioned, shall and may be recovered in any of the Kings Courts of Record at* Westminster, *by and in the Name of the Lord Major of the City of* London *for the time being, by action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, &c. wherein no Essoin, Protection, &c. shall be in any wise prayed, granted, or allowed.*

And if any person after notice given, that the Action depending is grounded or prosecuted upon or by vertue of this Statute shall cause or procure any such Action to be staid or delayed before judgment, that then the said persons so offending shall incur and sustain all and every the pains, penalties, and forfeitures as aforesaid.

The fifth part of all and every the forfeitures in this Act mentioned, shall go and be to and for the

the uſe and behoof of the City of London; *and the other four parts and reſidue to be employed and diſpoſed to and for ſuch only uſes, intents, and purpoſes, as by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled ſhall be declared and appointed.*

And be it further Enacted, That the ſaid Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes to be aſſembled at any Parliament, by vertue of this Act, ſhall and may from time to time, at any time during ſuch their aſſembly in Parliament, chooſe and declare one of themſelves to be Speaker for the ſaid Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in the ſaid Parliament, as they ſhall think fit.

And it is further enacted, That all Parliaments hereafter to be aſſembled by authority of this Act, and every Member thereof, ſhall have and enjoy all Rights, Priviledges, Juriſdictions, and Immunities, as any Parliament ſummoned by Writ under the great Seal of England, *or any Member thereof might, or ought to have, and have voices in ſuch Parliament, before, and without the taking of the ſeveral Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or either of them; any Law or Statute to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

For Signing of this Bill, thanks were given

to the King at *White-hall* the same afternoon by both Houses of Parliament.

By this time, being the end of *December*, that Cessation of Arms which was spoken of before, between the *English* and *Scotish* Armies, was expired, and by the Parliament now renewed for a month longer; for the Parliament, although the King (as is said before) called them Rebels, and desired to have them driven out of *England*, had a better opinion of them, and at this time of renewing the Cessation, ordered that the *Scots* should be recompensed for all their charges and losses by that mischievous war which the King had raised against them; and within few dayes, after examination of those losses and charges, the Parliament ordered that the *Scotish* Ships, taken since that war, should be restored to them, and 4000.l. in money given them to rig those ships: it was further resolved by both Houses, that the full sum of 300000 l. should be given to them, in these words, *Towards a supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland*; And that the Parliament would in due time take into consideration the manner of raising, & daies of Paiment; for which, three daies after, the Scotish Commissioners, then Resident at *London*, gave thanks to the Parliament, not only for that great Sum of

300000.l.

300000.l. but for the ſtile of Brethren which ſo kindly they had uſed towards them.

The Parliament of *England*, as a further ſtrengthning of the Nations amity, Ordained at that time, *That all Books, Libels, and Proclamations againſt the Scots ſhould be called in; and a thanksgiving to God ſhould be in all Churches of* England *for that happy Peace.*

The payment of two Armies for ſo long a time was a great charge to the poor people of *England*; which they without any grudging or repining at the King, as cauſe of that great burden, in hope to gain him for the future, bore with exceeding patience; they willingly parted with ſix Subſidies, and were content with the taxation of Poll-money, a perſonal aſſeſſment of the whole Kingdom, wherein every Duke was aſſeſſed at 100.l. a Marqueſs at 80.l. Earls at 60.l. Viſcounts and Barons at 40.l. Knights of the Bath at 30.l. Other Knights at 20.l. Eſquires at 10.l. Men of 100.l. *per annum* at 5.l. every common head at ſix pence.

The King in *February* had declared to the Houſes his intention concerning a marriage for his eldeſt Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, who was then betwixt 9 and 10 yeers of age; the husband appointed for her, was the yong Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, Son to *Henry* Prince

of *Orange*, a youth about 16 yeers of age: the matter was then in agitation, and fair Propositions made upon it to the King, by the Ambassadors of the States General: The Parliament were pleased with the marriage; and not long after the yong Prince arived in *England*, and was by the King and Queen, with all the Court, joyfully received, and entertained at *London*. After convenient time spent in the *English* Court, he was upon the second day of *May*, with great solemnity, Married at *White-hall* to the Princess *Mary*.

On the tenth day of *May*, *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who had been committed to the Tower six months before, was beheaded. Of this man, of the crimes laid to his charge, as likewise of his Pompous and remarkable trial, we cannot but make some mention. About the end of *January* a charge was read against him in the House of Commons, consisting of nine Articles: out of which by subdivision were branched many more, which (though too tedious to be verbally here set down) I shall deliver, by expressing the contents. He was accused for ruling *Ireland*, and the North of *England* in an arbitrary way, against the Laws. For retaining the Kings revenue without account. For encreasing and encouraging Popery. For maliciously striving to stir up

and

and continue enmity betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; of which ſome particulars are expreſt. For laboring to ſubvert Parliaments, and incenſe the King againſt them. Upon which occaſion, Mr. *Pym*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, in his Speech and Declaration to the Lords, ſhewing the quality of the offence, ſpake as followeth: 'It is an 'offence comprehending all other offences, in 'that he governed contrary to Law: the Law 'is that which puts a difference between 'good and evil.

'It is the Law that doth intitle the King to 'the Allegeance and ſervice of his people; it 'intitles the people to the protection and ju'ſtice of the King. It is God alone who ſub'ſiſts by himſelf, all other things ſubſiſt in a 'mutual dependence and relation. He was 'a wiſe man that ſaid, That the King ſubſiſted 'by the field that is tilled: it is the labor of 'the people that ſupports the Crown: If you 'take away the protection of the King, the 'vigor and cheerfulneſs of Allegeance will be 'taken away, though the obligation remain.

'The Law is the Boundary, the Meaſure 'betwixt the Kings Prerogative and the peo'ples Liberty: Whiles theſe move in their own 'Orb, they are a ſupport and ſecurity to one 'another; The Prerogative a cover and de-

'fence to the Liberty of the people, and the 'people by their Liberty are enabled to be a 'foundation to the Prerogative; but if these 'bounds be so removed, that they enter into 'contestation and conflict, one of these mis-'chiefs must needs ensue: If the Prerogative 'of the King overwhelm the Liberty of the 'People, it will be turned into Tyranny; If 'Liberty undermine the Prerogative, it will 'grow into Anarchy.

'The Law is the safeguard, the custody of 'all private interest: Your Honors, your 'Lives, your Liberties and Estates are all in 'the keeping of the Law; without this, e-'very man hath a like right to any thing, and 'this is the condition into which the Irish 'were brought by the Earl of *Strafford*: And 'the reason which he gave for it, hath more 'mischief in it than the thing it self, THEY 'WERE A CONQUERED NA-'TION. There cannot be a word more 'pregnant and fruitful in Treason, than that 'word is: There are few Nations in the 'world that have not been Conquered; and 'no doubt but the Conqueror may give what 'Laws he please to those that are Conquered: 'But if the succeeding Pacts and Agreements 'do not limit and restrain that right, what 'people can be secure? *England* hath been

'Con-

'Conquered, and *Wales* hath been Conque-
'red; and by this reaſon will be in little bet-
'ter caſe than *Ireland*. If the King by the
'Right of a Conqueror gives Laws to his
'people; ſhall not the people by the ſame
'reaſon be reſtored to the right of the Con-
'quered, to recover their Liberty if they can?
'What can be more hurtful, more pernitious
'to both, than ſuch Propoſitions as theſe?

A little after: 'Such *arbitrary* power is
'inconſiſtent with the peace, the wealth, the
'proſperity of a Nation; to induſtry, to valor,
'&c. For who will take pains for that which
'when he hath gotten, is not his own? Or,
'who will fight for that wherein he hath no
'other Intereſt, but ſuch as is ſubject to the
'will of another? The ancient encourage-
'ment for men to defend their Countries,
'was this, That they were to hazard their
'perſons in defence of their Religion and
'their Houſes; but by ſuch *arbitrary* wayes as
'were practiſed in *Ireland*, and counſelled
'here, no man had any certainty of either,
'or of any thing elſe, &c. Such *arbitrary*
'courſes have an ill operation on the courage
'of a Nation, by embaſing the hearts of the
'people; a ſervil condition doth beget in men
'a ſlaves temper and diſpoſition: ſhall it be
'Treaſon to embaſe the Kings Coyn, though

'but a piece; and must it not needs be the ef-
'fect of a greater Treason, to embase the spi-
'rits of his Subjects? &c.

A little further: 'As it is a Crime odious
'in the nature of it, so it is odious in the
'judgment and estimation of the Law; to al-
'ter the settled frame and constitution of go-
'vernment, is Treason in any estate; The
'Laws whereby all other parts of a Kingdom
'are preserved, should be very vain and de-
'fective, if they had not a power to secure
'and preserve themselves.

'The forfeitures inflicted for Treason by
'our Law, are of Life, Honor, and Estate,
'even all that can be forfeited; and this pri-
'soner having committed so many Treasons,
'although he should pay all these forfeitures,
'will be still a Debtor to the Common-
'wealth: Nothing can be more equal, then
'that he should perish by the Justice of that
'Law which he would have subverted. Nei-
'ther will this be a new way of blood;
'There are marks enough to trace this Law
'to the very original of this Kingdom: And
'if it hath not been put in execution, as he
'allegeth, this 240 yeers, it was not for want
'of Law, but that all that time hath not bred
'a man bold enough to commit such Crimes
'as these; which is a circumstance much ag-
'grava-

'gravating his offence, and making him no 'whit leſs liable to puriſhment, becauſe he 'is the only man that in ſo long a time hath 'ventured upon ſuch a Treaſon as this.

The Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, then reſident at *London*, had a charge alſo againſt this Earl, for matters done againſt their Nation; which were notwithſtanding implied in the Parliaments Charge. To this Charge the Earl gave in his Anſwer in the Houſe of Lords, where the King himſelf was preſent at the reading of it, upon the 23 day of *February*; but his trial in *Weſtminſter* Hall began on the 22 day of *March* following, and was a moſt memorable ſight. The *Hall* was Scaffolded on both ſides, to contain the whole Houſe of Commons, ſitting there in a Committee; the Peers ſate all there, beſides the Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, and beſides other ſpectators and auditors, and a great number of the Lords of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord high Steward, and the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord high Conſtable: the King himſelf ſate privately in a cloſe Gallery every day, taking Notes in writing of what paſſed in the tryal. Fifteen dayes the Earl anſwered perſonally, from the 22 of *March*, with few dayes intermiſſion, till the 16 of *April*. Miſdemeanors in an high degree were proved againſt him,

but that which the Earl labored to maintain for himſelf, was, that Miſdemeanors, though never ſo many and great, could not make Treaſon, put together, unleſs ſome one of them in his own nature had been Treaſon: for that was his Charge, which he ſtrove to avoid.

Yet many of thoſe particulars in his accuſation were put into his Bill of Attainder afterward; for a Bill of Attainder was drawn up, and read againſt him in the Houſe of Commons *April* 21. where he was Voted guilty of high Treaſon.

Mr. *Saint John* the Kings Sollicitor, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, on the 29 of *April*, for ſatisfaction of the Lords, opened the Bill in *Weſtminſter*-Hall (where the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Bar, and the King preſent in his accuſtomed place) and made the Bill good by many precedent Statutes. Upon which the Lords, being ſomewhat ſatisfied, were afterwards more confirmed, when the Judges, in their Houſe, delivered their opinions concerning it; And voted him guilty of high Treaſon alſo. But the King told the Lords, he was not ſatisfied in Conſcience, to condemn him of high Treaſon; But acknowledged that his miſdemeanors were very great; until at laſt, wearied with Petitions

for

for Juſtice, the King calling a Privy Councel at *White-hall*, commanded the Judges to deliver their opinion before him there; and ſent for ſome Biſhops to reſolve him in ſcruple of Conſcience. Which wrought ſo, that he granted a Commiſſion to four Lords, to ſign that Bill for execution of the Earl of *Strafford*; which execution was done at the time and place before mentioned.

The death of this great Earl ſeemed to be the more violently ſought, and more haſtened, by reaſon of ſome Treaſons againſt the Parliament, which were at that time diſcovered; being partly in favor of him, contrived to prevent his death by an eſcape out of the Tower.

For one part of this Treaſon was to that purpoſe. Souldiers were raiſed by Sir *John Suckling*, and ſome others, under pretence of ſervice in *Portugal*, to gratifie the Embaſſador of that Kingdom; thoſe Souldiers the King himſelf (who was now found to be privy to all thoſe Treaſons againſt the Parliament) commanded Sir *William Belfore* the Lieutenant to admit into the Tower; but he perceiving it was a Plot for the Earls eſcape, diſobeyed the Kings Command. Another part of this Treaſon, chief of all the reſt, was a deſign to bring up the Engliſh Army, which was in the North, and not yet disbanded; this Army

they

they had dealt with to engage against the Parliament sitting, and (as they alleaged) to maintain the Kings Prerogative, Episcopacy, and other things against the Parliament it self. In this Plot were *Henry Piercy*, brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; Mr. *Henry Jermin*, Master of the Horse to the Queen; Col. *Goring*, Col. *Wilmot*, Col. *Ashburnham*, *Pollard*, *Suckling*, and others: the Kings discourses to Mr. *Piercy* concerning these things were discovered in a Letter of *Piercie's* to his Brother *Northumberland* out of *France*, which was read in the House upon the 14 of *June* (for *Piercy*, *Jermine*, and *Suckling* at the beginning of *May*, when this Treason was in some part detected, fled the day before they should have been examined, and passed over into *France*) upon which reading, *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham* and *Pollard*, three Members of the House, mentioned in the Letter, as privy to the Plot, were all committed: If the Earl of *Strafford* had escaped out of the Tower, he should have Commanded, in aid to this Plot, that Irish Army, consisting of eight thousand, most of them Papists, which the King would not grant to have disbanded, when the Parliament, on the 28 of *April* before had desired it of him; but told them he could not disband them, for reasons best known to himself.

Col-

Colonel *Goring*, for ſome diſcoveries which he made, was not at all committed; but *Oneale*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, that was deep in the Plot, was apprehended and committed to the Tower, from whence he afterwards eſcaped.

The Parliament finding ſuch diſturbance in their buſineſs, and treaſons againſt them, and not at all aſſured of the Kings reality; weighing beſides the great charges of paying two Armies, for which money muſt be raiſed by Loan upon the publick Faith: moved the King to ſign a Bill for continuation of this preſent Parliament; which was, That it ſhould never be diſſolved without the Conſent of both Houſes.

That Bill ſo drawn up, the King ſigned on the 10 of *May*, the ſame day that he ſigned the Bill for *Straffords* execution.

This Bill was a thing, that former ages had not ſeen the like of, and therefore extremely was the Kings Grace magnified by thoſe that flattered, but much condemned by others, who hated Parliaments and Reformation, complaining that the King had too far put the ſtaffe out of his own hands. But many men who ſaw the neceſſity of ſuch a thing, without which no money upon the publick Faith could be borrowed, did not at all wonder at it,

it, ſaying, That as no King ever granted the like before; ſo no King had ever before made ſo great a neceſſity to require it: but ſome men were of opinion that it was not of ſecurity enough to make the Kingdom happy, unleſs the King were good; for if he were ill-affected, he had power enough ſtill to hinder, and retard them in any proceeding for the good, and ſettlement of the Commonwealth; and ſo by time and delayes lay a greater *Odium* upon the Parliament, for not ſatisfying the peoples deſires, then if they had not had that ſeeming power to have done it: Which proved in the concluſion too true, when the King by ſuch protraction of buſineſs, not at all concurring with them in the main, had raiſed a party to himſelf againſt them, to cut aſunder that Knot by the ſword, which by Law he could not unty.

The Parliament after this, began with eaſing the Kingdoms Grievances; and becauſe the charge of the two Armies lay upon them, and every day was conſiderable, till they were disbanded, that was the firſt thing intended; Towards which a great quantity of Plate was appointed, with more than ordinary haſte to be melted and coined.

And for making up the ſum, that Bill of Poll-money was to be ſigned, which was tendred

dred to the King, and two other Bills with it; one for putting down the High-Commiſſion Court; and the other for putting down the Star-Chamber.

The King ſigned only that Bill of Poll-money, and took time to conſider of the other two: but hearing how ill it was taken at his hands, what murmurings there were in the City; and thinking it not now ſeaſonable to diſtaſte them much, three days after he came and paſſed thoſe other two Bills for putting down the High Commiſſion Court, and Star-Chamber.

The Queen-Mother of *France* about that time took her leave of the King, & paſſed over the Seas into *Holland*, the people deſiring to be eaſed of that charge; for the King had kept her for the ſpace of three years in *England* at the allowance of 100. l. a day.

The Parliament proceeded then againſt the delinquent Judges about Ship-money; and Charges were drawn up and read againſt them in the Houſe of Commons: for in *December* before, when the debate had been concerning Ship-money, and the offence of thoſe Judges who had given their extrajudicial opinions for it, was examined; upon which the Lord Keeper *Finch* fled; the thing was condemned as moſt illegal. Three Judges had been honeſt,

rest, Judge *Crook*, *Hutton*, and Baron *Denham*, whose Arguments were very famous; the other were examined by sixteen Members of the House of Commons, who were appointed to present those particular Charges against every Judge; who were, Judge *Bramston*, Baron *Trevor*, Baron *Weston*, Baron *Davenport*, and Judge *Crawley*; for Judge *Barclay* was charged with high Treason.

Of this, a certain Gent. spake as followeth;

'The Root of most of our present mis-
'chiefs, & the ruine of all posterity, do I hold
'to be that extrajudicial (Judgment I cannot
'say, but rather) doom, delivered by all the
'Judges under their hands out of Court, yet
'recorded in all Courts, to the subversion of
'all our Fundamental Lawes, Liberties; and
'Annihilation, if not Confiscation of our E-
'states: That in case of danger, the King may
'impose upon his subjects, & that he is the sole
'Judge of the danger, necessity, and propor-
'tion; which in brief, is to take what, when,
'and where he will; which though delivered
'in the time of a gracious & merciful Prince,
'who we hope will not wrest it beyond our
'abilities, yet left to the interpretation of a
'succeeding Tyrant, if ever this Nation be
'so fortunate to fall into the hands of such;
'It is a Record wherein every man might

'read

'read himſelf a ſlave that reads it, having no-
'thing he can call his own, all proſtitute to
'the will of another.

'What to do in ſuch a caſe, we are not to
'ſeek for precedents, our honorable Ance-
'ſtors taught us in the juſt and exemplar pu-
'niſhments of chief *Juſtice Treſilian* and his
'Complices (for giving their *judgments* out
'of *Parliament* againſt the eſtabliſhed *Laws* of
'*Parl.*) how tender they were of us, how care-
'ful we ought to be to continue thoſe Laws,
'to preſerve the Liberty of our Poſterity.

Thoſe Charges were now brought in about the beginning of *Auguſt*, but little was afterwards done againſt any of them, or almoſt any other offendor: the King had deſigned a journey into *Scotland*, and would go, though the Houſes earneſtly entreated his ſtay for a while longer, becauſe the Kingdoms buſineſs required his preſence; the King alledged that the affairs of *Scotland* did neceſſarily require his preſence: and further told them that he would Paſs any good Bill, which they had for him, before he went. Which he accordingly did, and ſigned a Commiſſion for paſſing of Bills in his abſence; the Commiſſioners were the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Lord Privy-ſeal Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord great Chamberlain Earl of *Lindſey*, the Marqueſs of *Harford*,

ford, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*; The Earl of *Essex* also by a Bill, which the King then signed, was made General of all his forces on this side Trent, with power to levy Arms in case of necessity.

But before the King went, the Earl of *Holland*, chosen both by him and the Parliament as General for that purpose, was gone into the North to disband the English Army there.

The King departing from *London* the tenth of *August*, made haste towards *Scotland*, and passed by the Armies as they were disbanding. Whether he did under-hand attempt any thing with the Scotish Army (as a Scotish writer hath published) to engage them against the Parliament of *England*, with large promises of Spoil, and offering Jewels of great value in pawn for performance of it, I leave as uncertain, for the reader to judge, by what afterwards fell out. But if he did, it was a matter of great falsehood, having as yet declared no enmity against the English Parliament. But what the Kings design was of going into *Scotland*, was not understood in *England*. The same Author saies, it was to make sure those Noble men of that Kingdom, whom he doubted of, as not willing to serve his turn against *England*. And true it is, that about

about *September*, Letters came from *Scotland* to the ſtanding Committee at *Weſtminſter* (for the two Houſes had rejourned themſelves from the eighth of *September*, till the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a ſtanding Committee of fifty Members during that time) that a Treaſonable Plot was diſcovered there againſt the lives of ſome of the greateſt Peers in the Kingdom; upon which the ſtanding Committee fearing ſome miſchief from the ſame ſpring, placed ſtrong guards in divers parts of the City of *London*.

However the miſchiefs might fall out by chance, or by deſign, the Kings journey into *Scotland* was ſure to hinder the Engliſh buſineſs, and to retard the cure of all their Grievances; which was little leſs then a plain deſtruction. For after the tenth of *Auguſt*, the day of his departure, little was done in the Parliament, until the receſs.

On the 23 of *October*, whilſt the King remained in *Scotland*, broke forth that curſed conſpiracy of the Iriſh Rebels, and the inhumane butchery of Proteſtants through the whole Iſland, more tragical then any effect of a calamitous War; in which was put in execution whatſoever could be imagined from the licentious cruelty of a barbarous people, ſo long kept under the Engliſh yoke, or what-

ever the dire dictates of superstition, or wicked exhortations of Priests could infuse into them. It was wonderful that so deviliſh a design could so long be kept close; whereby 200000 Protestants in two months space were murdered, and many by exquisite torments, and many more despoiled of all their wordly fortunes.

This diveliſh design was to be put in execution on the 23 of *October*; upon which day not only the Castle of *Dublin*, the Kingdoms chief Magazine, a storehouse of ten thousand Arms at that time; but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom were to be surprised; and all the Engliſh or Protestants, that joyned not with them, to be murdered.

The seizure of *Dublin* Castle (to which purpose many of the chief Rebels came to the City the day before) was prevented by timely discovery of the Plot to the two Lords Justices, by one *Owen O Conally*, a Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy*; which discovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occasion of it very accidental (or rather, a strange providence of God) by *Mac-Mahon* unadvised trusting this *Owen* with some relations concerning it at a Tavern.

Upon which discovery, *Mac-Mahon*, and the Lord *Maguire* were presently apprehen-

ded

ded by the Lords Juſtices; and many Conſpirators of great note eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*. So was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be loſt in one day. But the horrid deſign was paſt prevention, as to the general; for the Conſpirators were up at the day in all Counties round about; and poor Engliſh Proteſtants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and ſpoiled of all they had, relating how their houſes were ſeized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords Juſtices, Sir *William Parſons*, and Sir *John Burlace* taking thoſe Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could on a ſudden to defend themſelves, diſpatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, then choſen Deputy, but ſtaying in *England*. Money was wanting, and no ſupplies neerer then *England*.

Owen O Conally, the firſt diſcoverer of the Plot, brought the firſt Letters to *London*; upon receipt of which, they rewarded *Owen* with a gift of 500.l. and an annuity of two hundred pounds *per annum*; and preſently both Houſes of Parliament met at a Conference, and the Houſe of Commons forthwith reſolved into a Committee, to conſider of *Irelands* relief, and alſo to provide for the ſafety of

England, for diſtractions began then to appear in *England*; the Parliament every day conſidered of *Irelands* relief, and preſently ordered ſupplies of money to be borrowed of the City of *London*, Victuals, and Ammunition for that purpoſe. But all relief could be but ſlow in ſuch a ſudden diſeaſe. For the Rebellion encreaſed, and ſpread through all the Kingdom; and many Papiſts and ill-affected fled from *Dublin* into the Country to joyn with the Rebels, whileſt the City in their rooms, was daily filled with poor ſpoiled Proteſtants, who came naked, and famiſhed thither; many of them being paſt relief, and there periſhed in the City. It were an endleſs thing to relate the pitiful condition of thoſe woful people, and what ſad ſtories they there told concerning the bloody rage of thoſe inhumane Iriſh Rebels, and ſeveral tortures by which the unhappy Engliſh were brought to their ends.

But the Lords of the Councel, and Lords Juſtices in a ſhort time, with thoſe Arms of *Dublin*, had armed many well-affected Gentlemen, and ſent many active Commanders out of the City to defend places neer, againſt the approach of the Rebels. About the middle of *November* were in Arms Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the Lord *Lambert*,

Lambert, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Capt. *Armſtrong*, Capt. *Yarner*; and the Earl of *Ormond* came to *Dublin* with an hundred Horſe well armed. At which time the Parliament of *England*, till greater ſums could be raiſed, ſent them over, as a preſent comfort, twenty thouſand pounds. But it was a long time before they could ſend over any forces to the relief of that bleeding Kingdom; the firſt was a Regiment Commanded by Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived on the laſt of *December*, 1641.

While *Ireland* was thus miſerably diſtreſſed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England*, and was entertained by the City of *London* with moſt pompous ſolemnity; the whole multitude of Citizens diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Companies, in ſuch coſtly Equipage as never before was known, with Horſe and Arms met the King, and guarded him through the whole City to his Palace at *White-hall*. Some condemned that coſtly entertainment of the City at ſuch a ſad time; others hoped it might gain the Kings dubious affection to his people; but it wrought a contrary effect in the King; who began now to think he could never loſe the love of the City, whatſoever he did; and was flattered by ſome, with a hope that the City would aſſiſt him in curbing of the Parliament it ſelf;

he grew therefore more diſdainful toward the Parliament; and to endear the City, invited divers of the chief to *Hampton* Court, where he feaſted them, and Knighted ſome.

But the honeſt Citizens perceiving that no good uſe was made of their dutiful expreſſions toward the King, but that ſome bad people did openly ſay that the City were weary of the Parliament, and would joyn with the King againſt it; they framed a Petition to the Parliament, wherein the contrary is profeſſed; and that they would live and die with the Parliament for the good of the Common-wealth.

While the King remained at *Hampton* Court, the Houſe of Commons preſented him with a Remonſtrance, wherein the Grievances of the Kingdom are expreſſed; but no fault laid upon himſelf in plain words, but a Malignant party (as they call them) and evil Counſellors.

Irelands calamities ſeemed to be quite forgotten, or rather, that thoſe inhumane Rebels were countenanced; every body wondring that the King would not proclaim them Rebels; and ſome honeſt Lords adviſing the King to proclaim them ſpeedily, that a better courſe might be taken againſt them; they deſired him to waſh off that foul ſtain from him-

himſelf, by proceeding ſeverely againſt thoſe wicked villains; who reported every where that they had authority from him to ſeize upon the Holds of the Engliſh Proteſtants; that they were the Queens Souldiers, and riſe to maintain the Kings Prerogative againſt the Puritan Parliament in *England*; they therefore adviſed him by all means to purge himſelf of that crime; then which, a greater on earth could not be.

But ſo ſtrangely were things carried, that although the Rebellion brake out upon the twenty third of *October*, the King did not proclaim them Rebels till the firſt of *January*; and then gave a ſtrict command, that no more then forty Copies of that Proclamation ſhould be Printed, and that none of them ſhould be publiſhed, till his Majeſties pleaſure were further ſignified, ſo that a few only could take notice of it; which made all men extreamly wonder, when they obſerved the late contrary proceedings againſt the Scots; who were in a very quick and ſharp manner proclaimed, and thoſe Proclamations forthwith diſperſed with as much diligence as might be thorow all the Kingdom.

But before this Proclamation came out, the Parliament, being ſomewhat troubled

with some speeches, of which they had been informed, as if a Plot were contrived against them, desired the King to allow them a Guard for security of their persons; and that the Earl of *Essex*, then Lord *Chamberlain* of his Majesties Houshold, might be Commander of it. But the King denied them a Guard, giving them many fair promises of his care for their safety; and that he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

Three days after the Proclamation against those Irish Rebels, being the fourth of *January*, the King attended with about three hundred Armed Gentlemen, came to *Westminster*, and entring in Person into the House of Commons, and seating himself in the Speakers Chair, demanded five Members of that House to be delivered to him; Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hamden*, and Mr. *Strode*.

Those five Members had by command of the House, upon information of the Kings intent, absented themselves. Which the King finding, went away after a short Speech delivered, concerning them, That he intended a fair Trial against them, and that he was, and would be as careful to maintain the Privi-

Priviledges of Parliament, as ever any King of *England* was. He had the day before demanded them by his Atturney, Sir *Edward Herbert*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, pretending a Charge of high Treaſon againſt them, and with them, againſt the Lord *Mandevile*, a Member of the Houſe of Lords. But the Parliament did not think fit to let their Perſons go. Whereupon the King ſent and ſealed up the Cloſets and Trunks of thoſe five Members; He made alſo a Proclamation againſt them, for their apprehending and impriſonment, as men guilty of high Treaſon.

This great breach of Parliament-Priviledge happened in a ſtrange time, to divert the Kingdom from relieving of *Ireland*; and ſo the people every where complained, and called to minde what they had heard by ſome of thoſe poor Proteſtants, who fled out of *Ireland*; who reported that thoſe Iriſh Rebels did confidently ſay, It was for no purpoſe to fly for ſafety into *England*, for that Kingdom would be as much diſtreſſed as theirs, and that the King intended to forſake his Parliament in *England*, and War againſt it; which when he did, they would come over, having done their work in *Ireland*, and help the King againſt the Engliſh Parlia-

Parliament. Those things were sadly remembred.

On this occasion the Parliament voted, that *These things were an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, a great scandal to the King and his Government, a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace, and an injury and dishonor to the said Members, there being no legal Charge or accusation against them. And that there could be no vindication of those Priviledges, unless his Majesty would discover the Names of those who advised him to such unlawful courses.* They therefore desired him to satisfie their legal desire in that, to let them know their informers (which by two Statutes then in force, upon such occasions the King is bound to do) but he refused to grant their request. Upon which they committed his Atturney, Sir *Edward Herbert*, (having been examined about it, but confessing nothing) for breaking the Priviledges of Parliament in prefering the Articles, &c.

The King the next day after this, entering into the House of Commons, went through the City of *London*; where the Citizens in many places, flocking about his Coach, humbly entreated him to agree with his Parliament, and not to break the Priviledges thereof. To which purpose, they afterwards

wards preſented him with a Petition, beſeeching him for poor *Irelands* ſake, to accord with his Parliament, to allow them a Guard, and do right to the accuſed Members; with other things of that nature, expreſſed at large in that Petition. The people about that time, diſcontented with the Kings actions, and thoſe obſtructions which they found in all buſineſſes of Parliament, uſed to flock to *Weſtminſter* in great throngs, though unarmed, by way of Petitioning, and many times to utter rude ſpeeches againſt ſome Lords, whom they conceived to be evil adviſers of the King; which howſoever it were meant, proved of ill conſequence to the Common-wealth, and did not ſo much move the King to be ſenſible of his grieving the people, as arm him with an excuſe for leaving the Parliament and City, for fear of what might enſue upon ſuch tumultuous concourſe of men.

Upon this ground, twelve Biſhops at that time abſenting themſelves, entred a Proteſtation againſt all Laws, Votes, and Orders, as Null, which in their abſence ſhould paſs; by reaſon that they durſt not, for fear of their lives, come to perform their duties in the Houſe, having been rudely menaced, and affronted. Whereupon it was agreed both by

the

the Lords and Commons that this Proteſtation of the Biſhops was of dangerous Conſequence, and deeply entrenched upon the Priviledge and Being of Parliaments. They were therefore accuſed of high Treaſon, apprehended, and committed priſoners to the Tower.

Thus was the Parliament daily troubled with ill work, whereby the relief of *Ireland* was hindered: but other particular hinderances of *Irelands* relief then fell out, which we ſhall expreſs briefly.

When the Parliament were conſidering of Forces to be ſent out of *Scotland*, being a ſhort cut, many things happened to divert, or delay it. There was a Bill for Preſſing of Souldiers to that purpoſe depending in the Houſe of Peers, which the King took exceptions at, as to the putting of it into that way; being, as he ſaid, a diminution of his Prerogative: but becauſe he deſired *Ireland* might be relieved, he was content that a Bill ſhould paſs for that time with a *Salvo Jure* both to King and people. This ſpeech offended the Parliament; who declared in a Petition, that the King by taking notice of the debate in the Houſe of Lords concerning the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledge of Parliament, which

which he ought not to do concerning any Bill, till it be preſented to him in due courſe of Parliament; for every Member hath free liberty of ſpeech in propounding, or debating, and the King ought not to be diſpleaſed at him for ſuch opinions or propoſitions. For this great breach of Priviledge they deſired reparation, and that the King would make known who they were by whoſe evil Counſel he had done it, that they might receive condign puniſhment.

It was then alſo deſired, that an Army of *Scots* ſhould be ſent into *Ireland* firſt; but the Scotiſh Commiſſioners anſwered, That they had no Commiſſion from their State to ſend over a leſs number thither than 10000. The Houſe of Commons conſented, out of Zeal to the Cauſe; and Voted the ſending over of ten thouſand *Scots*. But the Lords would not yield unto it, unleſs the Houſe of Commons would give aſſurance that ten thouſand Engliſh ſhould be ſent over as ſpeedily; which was impoſſible to be done. And no other reaſon given for this Oppoſition, but that it was diſhonorable for *England*, that *Ireland* ſhould be reduced by the *Scots*; and that the *Scots* would make too great an advantage by it. But this reaſon was not thought by honeſt men, of weight enough to hinder ſo good

a work;

a work; when the cause of Religion, and the deplorable estate of so many thousand poor Christians groaned for assistance.

A third Obstruction of *Irelands* Relief was thus: Two thousand five hundred *Scots* were in readiness to be transported into the North of *Ireland*. Concerning the condition of their going, the Commissioners of *Scotland* delivered to the English Parliament eight Propositions: Both Houses consented to all the Propositions, but the King excepted against one of those Propositions; which was the third in order: *That the Scots would have the keeping of the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus, with power to remain there, or enlarge their Quarters at discretion; and if any Regiments or Troops in that Province should joyn with them, that they receive Orders from the chief Commanders of the Scotish Forces.*

This Article the King said that he doubted might be to the damage of *England*; and therefore would have the Parliament think upon it again. Nevertheless if they would have it so, he would confer with the Scotish Commissioners about it.

The Scots answered the King, That they were sorry that his Majesty, being their na-

tive

tive King, ſhould ſhew leſs truſt in them, then their neighbor Nation had freely done; and ſhould think that Article too much for them, which both Houſes of Parliament were pleaſed with. The King at laſt (though too much time were loſt) was contented to admit of that Article, as the Parliament had done.

But that way which the Parliament thought moſt powerful to Reduce *Ireland*, was by adventuring for proportions of Land there to be ſhared amongſt the Engliſh Adventurers, according to thoſe ſums of money, which they would diſburſe or ſubſcribe: That ſo whoſoever in perſon or purſe helped towards the conqueſt of thoſe bloody Rebels, might be recompenſed, if the Work were done. Propoſitions were framed in Parliament to that purpoſe. The King confirmed theſe Propoſitions, though at firſt he laughed at them, and was heard to ſay, *That they were like to him, who ſold the Bears skin before the Bear was killed.*

At laſt an Act was made, enabling the Parliament with power to carry on that War until *Ireland* ſhould be declared wholly ſubdued; and that no Peace, or Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be ever made with the Rebels, unleſs both Houſes of Parliament conſented

to

to it. The King then offered to go in perſon over into *Ireland*. But the Parliament thought it was not fit to hazard the Kings perſon in ſuch an expedition.

The King was then at *Hampton* Court, diſtaſted at the City, and pretending the reaſons of his abſence to be fear of Tumults: for beſides what was before ſpoken of the numbers which flocked to Petition at *Weſtminſter*, the King was advertiſed, That the day after he retired to *Hampton* (which was about a week after his going to the Houſe of Commons) divers Citizens, with Boats, and Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Weſtminſter*, with many promiſes not to forſake the Parliament.

From thence, upon the twentieth of *January*, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, deſiring them, that ſeeing particular grievances were ſo many, as that it would be tedious to preſent them by themſelves, they would digeſt them into one Body; that ſo a clear Judgement might be made upon them; *And then they ſhould ſee how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greateſt examples of moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favor to the People.*

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The Parliament gave him thanks, and reſolved ſpeedily to conſider of it; but deſired the King, in the mean time, to give them a ſure ground of ſecurity (while they diſcharged their Truſt) by putting the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom, into ſuch hands, as the Parliament might truſt, and recommend to him.

The King refuſed to grant that Petition; alleaging, that he would reſerve to himſelf the diſpoſal of all thoſe places, as a principal, and inſeparable Flower of his Crown; nevertheleſs, he promiſed to entruſt none but faithful Perſons in any of thoſe places.

Many reaſons were ſhewed on both ſides, and many Petitions and Anſwers paſſed; they ſtill preſſing for this Grant of the *Militia*, and the King ſtill denying it.

The King then reſiding at *Hampton* Court, had found out a new way to weaken the Parliament in their number, by ſending for ſome, who were his Servants, to leave their ſitting in the Houſe to attend him. Eſpecially he aimed at the Earl of *Eſſex*, his Lord *Chamberlain*; and the Earl of *Holland*, Groom of the *Stool*; both whom he ſent for: but they choſe rather to obey his Parliament-Writ,

than his private Command; and continued ſitting. For which he ſent a Meſſenger to demand the *Staffe* of the one, and the *Key* of the other, being the Enſigns of their Offices; which they willingly reſigned.

The Lord *George Digby* about that time had written a Letter to the Queen from *Midleborough* in *Zealand* (whither he had fled from *England*, when the Lords in Parliament had ſent for him upon ſome Miſdemeanors, and if he appeared not in twenty days, had proclaimed him Traytor) in which he intimates, That if the King will declare himſelf, and retire to a ſafe place, he ſhould be able to wait upon him from thence, as well as from any part of *England*, over and above the ſervice which he might do for him there in the mean time.

This Letter was intercepted, and brought to the Parliament; whereby they began to underſtand that the King had ſome deſign in hand againſt them; which they more plainly afterwards diſcerned.

The King and Queen, about the middle of *February*, with their eldeſt Daughter *Mary*, Princeſs of *Orange*, went to *Canterbury*: From which place (while ſome of the Members of both Houſes went between *London* and

and that City upon divers buſineſſes) the King ſigned the Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

From *Canterbury* they went to *Dover*: from whence the Queen paſſed into *Holland*, under pretext of keeping her Daughter company to her Husband: But ſhe carried with her the Crown-Jewels of *England*, and pawned them there; whereby ſhe bought Arms for that War which enſued, and was it ſeems then deſigned by the King againſt the Parliament.

After her departure, the King taking the Prince and Duke of *York* with him, went to *Theobalds*; there he received a Petition from the Parliament on the firſt of *March*, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one, wherein they deſired him to Grant the *Militia*, to abide neer *London*, and not to carry the Prince away.

All which he denied; and went immediately to *New-Market*.

There he was preſented with a Declaration drawn by both Houſes. The Earls of *Pembrook* and *Holland*, with ſome Commoners, carried it; In which they repeat the old Grievances; his wicked War againſt *Scotland*, the *Iriſh* Rebellion raiſed here by many preſumptions, his attempt of engaging

the *English* Army againſt the Parliament, his entring the Houſe of Commons, with the like; and that his fear to reſide neer *London* is without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Common-wealth, to hinder the relief of *Ireland*, and encourage the ill-affected party in this Kingdom: to which the King Anſwered with great indignation, and afterwards anſwered it by a long Declaration of his own, endeavoring to clear himſelf of ſome things, and extenuate, or excuſe others; accuſing them for coining to themſelves needleſs Fears and Jealouſies; and ſo theſe Commiſſioners departed from *Theobalds* (while the Parliament ſuffered him, without any real hinderance) to the Peoples great griefs, he paſſed to the City of *York*.

The Parliament in the mean time ſit, and Vote only againſt the Kings evil Counſel, and make three Votes.

1. *That the Kings abſence, ſo far remote from his Parliament, is not only an obſtruction, but may be a deſtruction to the Affairs in* Ireland.

2. *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament ſhall declare what the Law of*

of the Land is, to have this not only queſtioned, and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

3. *That they which adviſed the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected as favorers of the Rebellion in* Ireland.

From *York* the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, on the eighth of *April* 1642. that he would go in perſon over to *Ireland* againſt thoſe bloody Rebels; and therefore intended to raiſe by his Commiſſion neer *Weſtcheſter* a Guard for his Perſon (when he ſhould come into *Ireland*) of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, whom he would arm from his Magazine at *Hull*.

But the Parliament ſuſpecting, as well by my Lord *Digby* his intercepted Letter, as by other preſumptions, That the Kings chief end of going Northward, was to ſeize the Magazine of *Hull*, and arm himſelf from thence againſt them; ſent a Petition to him, for leave to remove that Magazine to the Tower

of *London*; and accordingly had ſent Sir *John Hotham* thither, who prevented the King, and kept out the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, whom the King had ſent thither alſo for the ſame purpoſe; at which action of theirs, the King was much moved.

On the three and twentieth day of *April* 1642. the King, attended by ſome Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, came at the Wals of *Hull*, and demanded entrance; but the Gates were ſhut, and Sir *John Hotham* appeared upon the Wall, and kneeling there, entreated the King not to command that, which he, without breach of Truſt, could not obey: in concluſion, the King not getting entrance, proclaimed *Hotham* Traytor; and ſent a complaining Meſſage to the Parliament concerning that affront.

The Parliament labored to appeaſe him, but juſtified *Hothams* act; and Declared, That proclaiming Sir *John Hotham* Traytor, without due proceſs of Law, was againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.

Upon this buſineſs of *Hull*, paſſed in a ſhort time many Declarations on both ſides, with Arguments drawn from the Statutes and Laws of *England*; and many commands contrary to each other; the Parliament authorizing

thorizing Sir *John Hotham* to iſſue out Warrants to the Conſtables and other Officers, to come with Arms to the defence of *Hull*: and the King on the other ſide forbiding any ſuch Warrants, or Training, without authority under his hand.

The King, while the Parliament let him alone in the North, daily Summoned the Gentry of thoſe Counties to attend him at *York*, and daily gained ſome to his party; whoſe proceedings there in every particular, are too tedious for this Relation; but his frequent Orations to them were in ſubſtance, That he was in danger of the Parliament, and deſired a Guard for his perſon: and when the King made Proclamation for all Gentlemen and others, to attend him in Arms as a Guard; the Parliament at *London* only declared, That ſuch Arming of men to the diſturbance of the Kingdoms peace, was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms: Thus did Proclamations and Declarations for a long time encounter each other.

But nothing made the Kingdom fear a War, until that great defection of Parliament Members, who left their Seats, and went to the King at *York*: Which happened about the end of *April*, and continued a

great part of *May* following; in which ſpace a great number of the Lords, ſome ſent for by the King, others for their own diſcontents, fears, or ambition, quitted their Seats in Parliament, and went to him one after another.

The Lords that left the Parliament were theſe;

Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmerland*, *Barkſhire*, *Monmoth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*; the Lords *Matrevers*, *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Falconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savil*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray* of *Ruthen*, *Capel*.

Within that time alſo many of the Houſe of Commons did ſo far break their Truſt, as to forſake their Seats in Parliament, and go to the King.

This Revolt of ſo many Members of both Houſes, was generally looked upon, as a thing of moſt ſad conſequence, and likely to produce no effects, but lamentable and wicked: as to nouriſh and encreaſe the Kings diſ-affection to Parliaments; to encourage

courage his diſtance from it, and attempts againſt it; to ſecure the Iriſh Rebels, to ſubvert the dignity of that high Court, and make the King, by this diminution of their number (as he did in his following Declarations) call them a Faction, a pretended Parliament, and ſuch like names.

The Parliament continued ſtill Petitioning the King; and on the twentieth of *May* ſent to entreat him, that he would Disband his Forces, and rely for his ſecurity (as his Predeceſſors had done) upon the Laws, and Affections of his people; contenting himſelf with his ordinary Guards; declaring, that elſe they held themſelves bound in duty to God, and the truſt repoſed in them by the people, and by the fundamental Laws, to employ their utmoſt care, and power, for ſecuring the Parliament, and preſerving the Kingdoms Peace.

Upon which, theſe Votes were made in Parliament.

That it appears that the King ſeduced by wicked Councel, intends to make a War againſt the Parliament, who in all their conſultations and actions have propoſed no other end to themſelves, but the care of his Kingdoms,

doms, and the performance of all duty and loyaltie to his person.

It was likewise Resolved upon the Question, That,

Whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the dissolution of this Government.

As also,

That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two Acts of Parliament, 11 Richard 2, *and* 1 Henry 4, *and that such Persons ought to suffer as Traitors.*

But those Lords who had forsaken the Parliament, continued still with the King in the North; wherefore the Parliament by an Order of the thirtieth of *May*, Summoned nine of them, who first had gone away, to appear at *Westminster*; *viz.* The Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Dover*, and *Monmeth*,

moth; the Lords *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Rich*, *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Coventry*, and *Capel*. But they refuſed to come away, returning an Anſwer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a ſlighting, and ſcornful Letter; upon which, a Vote was paſſed againſt them in the Houſe of Commons, and preſented on the 15 of *June* to the Lords by Maſter *Hollis*, with an Oration concerning the importance of the buſineſs.

Upon the impeachment of the nine Lords, the Houſe of Peers about a month after, being in their Robes, entred into debate of the ſaid impeachment; and after divers Speeches made, ſetting forth the greatneſs of their offence, they were Cenſured,

1 *Never to ſit more as Members of that Houſe.*

2 *To be incapable of the Benefit or Priviledge of Parliament.*

3 *To ſuffer impriſonment during their pleaſure.*

After which Cenſure, it was concluded, That the ſaid Lords ſhould be demanded in the behalf of both Houſes of Parliament, to ſubmit to the ſaid Cenſure.

After

After this, another wound was given to the Parliament, encouraging the King in his Designs; the Great Seal of *England* was carried away from the Parliament at *London*, to the King at *York*, by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, a man that had continued some time, after the rest were gone, firm in appearance, Voted with them, and gave his Voice for setling of the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament.

But about the end of *June*, one Master *Eliot* a Courtier, was sent closely from *York* to him; who having gotten privacy with the Lord Keeper, so far prevailed at last, that he got the Great Seal into his hands, and rid away with it to the King at *York*.

The Lord Keeper *Littleton*, after some serious thoughts with himself, not being able to answer it to the Parliament, rode away himself next day to the King also. The reason which he gave to some friends of his afterwards for so parting with the Seal, was this, The King when he made him Lord Keeper, gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That whensoever the King should send to him for the Great Seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This Oath, he said, he could not dispence with in Conscience, but was sorry he had taken the Office with such

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an Oath. The Seal was given him ſince this Parliament ſate; which made it appear what intentions the King even then had to the Parliament.

The King having now gotten the Great Seal, iſſued forth many Proclamations; and among other, one, That no man ſhould obey the Parliaments Warrants about ſetling the *Militia*: and they on the other ſide by Ordinances forbad any man to raiſe Arms by Warrant from the King, without the authority of Parliament.

The Parliament being then intent upon ſetling the *Militia* by Land, they took care alſo to ſeize the Navy into their hands, for ſecurity of the Kingdom againſt forreign invaſions.

To that purpoſe, the Earl of *Warwick*, a Nobleman of good experience in Sea-affairs, and undoubted fidelity to his Countrey, was by an Ordinance of both Houſes choſen to be Lord Admiral. But the King had choſen Sir *John Penington* to that place, in the room of the Earl of *Northumberland*; and ſent a Command to the Earl of *Warwick* to reſign the place to him.

But the Earl choſe rather to obey the Ordinance of Parliament, and with great courage and policy got the Fleet into his hands, though

though many of the Captains ſtood out againſt him, alleaging they had the Kings Command to obey Sir *John Penington*; but the Earl deprived them of their Commands, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Ships; taking ſhortly after another Ship called the *Lion*, of great import, coming out of *Holland*, and laden with Gunpowder; which proved a great addition to his ſtrength.

All men at this time began to deſpair of the Kings return to his Parliament, and therefore on the 10 of *June* was an Order made in Parliament for bringing in money and plate, to raiſe Arms for the Cauſe; the publick Faith for repayment to them that brought it in, was engaged by the Parliament, and intereſt of eight in the hundred. Which was accordingly brought in in great abundance by well-affected people: as alſo Horſes and Arms for that ſervice.

The King at that time had received Money, and Arms, with Ammunition out of *Holland*, upon the pawning of the Crown-Jewels which the Queen had carried over in *February* before. He then ſent out his Commiſſions of Array to Arm the people, into all Counties: wherein he uſed the Parliaments own words, as in a Jeer of them. For the Parliament profeſſed that their receiving of

plate

plate and money, and levying of Forces was, *To maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the Kings Perſon, dignity, and authority, the Laws of the Land, the peace of the Kingdom, and priviledge of Parliament. The Kings words were the ſame; namely, To maintain the Proteſtant Religion, his own perſon and authority, the Laws, Kingdoms Peace, and priviledge of Parliament.*

And whereas the Parliament in their Declarations, both then, and afterward, uſed to ſay, That they did arm againſt a malignant party, by whom the Kings perſon was in danger; he in his, ſaid the like, and that for the ſafety of his own perſon and people, there was an inevitable neceſſity of putting the Kingdom into a poſture of defence; uſing thoſe very words in his Commiſſion of Array, which they did in their Ordinance for the *Militia*. And invited people to bring plate and money to him, in that language which the Parliament did: nor did it prove leſs effectual; for many Lords, Gentlemen, and others very freely brought in Money and plate, to ſerve the King, within a ſhort ſpace.

In all this heat of preparations, the King, before thoſe Lords that were with him in the North

North, made a ſolemn Proteſtation, as before God, that he would not engage them in any War againſt the Parliament, but only for his neceſſary defence; that his deſire was to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the liberties of the Subject, and priviledge of Parliament.

Upon which, thoſe Lords made a ſolemn Proteſtation, as before God, and ſubſcribed their Names to it, That they did believe the Kings intention to be as he ſaid; namely, That he had no purpoſe to Levy War againſt the Parliament; and that he endeavored only to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws, Liberties of the Subject, and juſt priviledge of Parliament.

The King immediately after this took a progreſs about the Countries adjacent, and at divers places made ſpeeches to the Gentlemen, and inhabitants, full of gracious promiſes, and declaring his intentions to preſerve the peoples Liberties, and priviledge of Parliament; after which he returned to *York*: and having raiſed an Army of three thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, went to *Beverly*, with an intention to beſiege *Hull*; making Proclamation beforehand, That no man ſhould preſume to aſſiſt *Hull*, againſt him, or bring any force thither. The Parliament,

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on the other ſide publiſhed a Declaration, for the preſervation and ſafety of the Kingdom, and of the town of *Hull*, with aſſurance of ſatisfaction to all thoſe who ſuſtained any loſs by their ſervice for the ſafety of that Town, or by overflowing of water upon the grounds there.

The King was within two hours march of *Hull*, when Sir *John Hotham* calling a Councel of War, by whom it was thought ſo fit, drowned the Countrey about *Hull*, drawing up the Sluce; giving the Owners time to remove their Cattel and Goods, the Parliament being to ſatisfie their damages upon the publick Faith.

Sir *John Meldrum*, an old Souldier, was aſſiſtant to *Hotham*; who ſallying bravely out of the Town with five hundred Townſmen, made the Kings party retreat to *Beverly*, ſome being ſlain, and taken in the Chaſe.

Within a ſhort time after, (when five hundred men ſent from *London* arrived at *Hull*) Sir *John Meldrum* made a fiercer Sally, and forced moſt of the Leaguer to retire diſorderly, one and twenty of them being ſlain, and fifteen taken priſoners; and following his good ſucceſs, came to *Aulby*, where the Kings Magazine of Arms, Ammunition, and Fire-

balls were kept in a Barn; all which he took, and fired the Barn: Upon which, the King calling a Councel of War, upon their advice broke up the siege before *Hull*.

On the twelfth of *July* the Parliament Voted that an Army should be raised for the safety of the Kings person, and defence of the Parliament. Of which the Earl of *Essex*, a man of eminent fidelity and worth, was by an unanimous consent of both Houses chosen General.

Some Lords and Members of the Commons were sent down into the Counties to settle the *Militia*, and raise Forces for defence of several Towns and places.

And divers Members of the Houses Listed themselves in the Lord General *Essex* his Army; and took Commissions from him, as Colonels.

But immediately after this time, the Kings Commissions of Array were sent down into every County (though often declared by the Parliament to be illegal) and were obeyed in many places, more than the Parliaments Ordinances for the *Militia*; by reason that so many Lords and Gentlemen adhered to him now against the Parliament.

But there were scarce any Counties free from contention, betwixt the Commissioners of

of the one, and the Ordinances of the other; which ſtrugled together, with great Nobility, and Gentry on both ſides: Neither had the Kings Proclamations, nor the Parliaments Ordinances obedience from all, only as far as the now-drawing ſwords enforced it.

During theſe Diviſions in ſeveral Counties, *London* it ſelf was not free: for the Lord Major of *London*, Sir *Richard Gurney*, was by the Parliament committed priſoner to the Tower of *London*, for moving ſedition in the Kingdom, by cauſing the Kings Commiſſion of Array (a thing declared illegal by both Houſes) to be proclaimed in the City: and afterwards an additional impeachment was brought in againſt him by the Common-Councel of *London*, for divers breaches of his Oath in that Office, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

After many days attendance concerning theſe Accuſations, on the twelfth day of *Auguſt* he received his Cenſure at the Houſe of Lords; which was,

That he ſhould be turned out of his Majoralty.

That he ſhould never bear any Office in the City, or Common-wealth.

That he ſhould be incapable of any Honor or

Dignity to be conferred on him by the King; and Committed Priſoner to the Tower during the pleaſure of both Houſes.

Many Proclamations about that time paſſed from the King, and Declarations from the Parliament; one from the King againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, as a Rebel, and all that adhered unto him; and a Declaration from the Parliament, recounting all that the Kings evil counſel (for ſo they call it) had done illegally againſt them: the Parliament likewiſe publiſhed what in particular had been done by his party againſt *Ireland*; and how that unhappy Kingdome had been of late robbed of many Reliefes, of Cloathes, Victuals, and Arms which the Parliament had ſent them, by the King and his party.

While theſe writings on both ſides laſted, the King removed often to gather ſtrength, and in ſeveral places made Speeches to the Countries, with many Proteſtations of his affection to the people. At laſt he came to *Nottingham*, where, about the middle of *Auguſt*, he ſet up his Standard-Royal. Very few People came to it, nor had the King at that time any conſiderable ſtrength; nor if the Parliament would then have ſeized upon his perſon, could he have kept himſelf out of their hands.

From *Notingham* on the twenty fifth of that Month he ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Culpeper*.

In that Meſſage he ſignifieth a deſire to compoſe the difference by a Treaty; that a certain number of Perſons ſent, and enabled by the Parliament, may treat in ſome indifferent place, with the like number authorized by him.

The Parliament anſwer, That until he put them in a condition to treat, that is, until he take down his Standard, and recall thoſe Proclamations, wherein he calleth (a thing unheard of before) both Houſes of Parliament Traytors and Rebels, they cannot, by the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, or by the publick truſt repoſed in them, or with the general good of the Realm, admit of any ſuch Treaty.

The KING denied that he advanced his Standard againſt the Parliament, or that he called them Rebels: but within few dayes, in his Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners of Array, Marqueſs *Harford*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, and the Lord *Strange*, he again called the Earl of *Eſſex* Rebel and Traytor.

Thus did they contend for ſome time, by Declarations and Proclamations; which proved all fruitleſs, as to ſatisfying of the people; nor could this lamentable War be averted.

Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, the the ſecond and third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, were now come into *England* the beginning of *September*, to offer their ſervice to the King, their Uncle; whom preſently he put into Commands. Prince *Rupert*, the Elder and Fiercer by nature, Commanding a Body of Horſe, flew with great fury through divers Counties, raiſing men for the King's ſervice in a rigorous way, Committing outrages to thoſe who favoured the Parliament; upon which, the Houſes fell into a debate, agreeing, that a Charge of Treaſon ſhould be drawn up againſt him, for endeavouring the Deſtruction of this State, and abuſing that Court which repreſented it.

The King marched another way; and paſſing through *Derbyſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, he commanded the Trained Bands of thoſe Counties to attend and Guard his Perſon; and when they were met, he diſarmed the greateſt part of them,

them, taking as many Arms as ſerved for two thouſand men, beſides good ſumms of Money, which he borrowed by conſtraint; proteſting ſtill (as uſually he did) to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and the priviledges of Parliament.

The Parliament-Army, raiſed under the Conduct of the General *Eſſex*, was now grown into a conſiderable Bulk; conſiſting of about fourteen thouſand Horſe and Foot; their general *Rendezvouz* was at *Northampton*, where many of the chief Commanders ſtayed with them, expecting the preſence of the General himſelf. The Lord General *Eſſex*, on the ninth of *September*, taking his leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, went towards *Northampton*, and was waited on by the trained Bands, and a great number of armed Gentlemen from *Eſſex*-houſe to the end of the City, with great ſolemnity. The Parliament ſent a Petition to the General at *Northampton*, to be by him preſented to the King in a ſafe and honourable way; the effect of which was, humbly to entreat his Majeſty to withdraw his preſence from thoſe wicked perſons about him, and not to mix his danger with theirs; but that he would return to his Parliament; and ſuch-like things.

The King intending to seize upon *Worcester*, sent Prince *Rupert* thither with some Horse; which *Essex* fearing, to prevent the King, commanded part of his forces to march thither speedily, himself following with his Army.

Some Skirmishes happened between that party of Parliamentarians and Prince *Rupert*, before the coming of General *Essex*; but Prince *Rupert*, when the forerunners of *Essex* his Army were in sight, with great speed fled out of *Worcester*. General *Essex*, leaving a Garison at *Northampton*, marched to *Coventry*; which Town he also garisoned, as likewise *Warwick*, and marched from thence with his main Army to *Worcester*; where he made some stay.

The King at that time with a small Body of Horse went to *Shrewsbury*; to which place he caused a Mint to be brought; and Coined his Plate: for many Gentlemen about that time, had, besides Money and Arms, brought Plate in unto him. At *Shrewsbury* he grew wonderful in strength; so that within three weeks after his coming thither, from a small inconsiderable Body of Horse, he was grown into an Army consisting of about six thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, and two thousand Dragoneirs.

From

From *Shrewsbury* the King marched along by *Coventry*, and came to *Southam*; being but a ſmall diſtance from the Lord General *Eſſex* his Army: from whence he ſtruck a terror (though ſo far off) into the City of *London* it ſelf; for he was then neerer to *London* by a dayes march, then the General was; inſomuch as that *London* made great proviſions to Guard it ſelf, and the Parliament ſent twelve Companies to poſſeſs and Guard *Windſor*-Caſtle.

The General thought it his chief work to follow the King's Army, for fear he ſhould march toward *London*; and by reaſon of that haſte, left behinde him a great part of his Forces, and great Artillery.

The King perceiving that, and loath to loſe ſo good an advantage of fighting (before the Parliament-Forces were conjoyned) turned back againſt General *Eſſex*; who was alſo reſolved to give battel.

A fair Champion Ground there is neer *Keynton*, a Village in *Warwickſhire*; and not above twenty furlongs from that Village, a great and ſteep hill, upon which the King's Army had ſpread themſelves; and at the foot of that Hill, a large Plain, called *The Vale of the Red-Horſe:* here firſt the battel joyned; the

the Royalists descending cheerfully down the hill, and the Parliamentarians from *Keynton* approaching toward them. The fight was begun with great courage, and much slaughter on both parts: on one side the Earl of *Lindsey*; on the other, the Earl of *Essex* manfully discharging the parts both of Generals and Souldiers.

But presently after the Battel was begun, Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the Horse in the King's right Wing, fell in with so furious a Charge upon the Parliaments left Wing, (where most of their Horse were placed) that immediately he put to flight all those Parliament-Horse, whose Foot likewise, being left by the Horse, betook themselves to flight. Prince *Rupert* following the chase far, and greedy of pillage, whilest he was busie in seizing the Carriages and Baggage of his Enemies, spent so much time therein, that the King's Victory (which was almost gotten) was by that means quite lost: for in the King's left Wing the fortune was not equal, whom Sir *William Balfore* charged so roundly, that he broke the best Foot-Regiments, and seized upon the King's Artillery.

There was a bloody fight: in that place the Kings Standard was taken, but soon lost again: there

there were ſlain and taken Priſoners many brave men, among whom *Lindſey* the King's General was taken Priſoner, who died within few hours, of his wounds.

Night parted the fight, and gave a ſafe retreat to both ſides: both ſides challenged the Victory to themſelves; for which, thanks were publickly given to God both by the Parliament and the King; for on both ſides appeared ſome marks of Victory, as Enſigns, Canons, and Priſoners taken. Concerning the number of the ſlain was no agreement, both partyes reporting too falſly: but it was thought that of both Armies (though more of the King's ſide then the other) were ſlain in that battel above five thouſand.

General *Eſſex* marched to *Coventry*, to refreſh his Army: the King to *Oxford*, as to his Winter-Quarters. Prince *Rupert* with a Body of Horſe flew up and down the Countrey Night and Day, plundering and robbing Towns and Villages; and made his Excurſions ſo far out of *Oxford*, that he ſtruck a terrour into the City of *London* it ſelf, inſomuch, as that they deſired General *Eſſex* (who had deſigned to follow the King) that he would bring his Army neerer to *London*.

Eſſex on the ſeventh Day of *November*, came

came to *Westminster*, (quartering his Forces in the adjacent Villages) and was received with great Honour by both Houses of Parliament, and was presented with five thousand pounds as a gratuity, with a large acknowledgement of his valour and pains undergone for the Commonwealth.

Before the General departed from *London*, another bloody Battel was fought about *Brainford*. And so happened the occasion; the Parliament grieved for this unnatural War, desirous to save the Kingdom, and recover *Ireland*, had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation to be presented to the King, being then at *Colebrook*, by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembrook*, the Lord *Wainman*, Master *Perpoint*, and Sir *John Ipsley*.

The King gave a fair Answer, protesting before God, That he was grieved for his peoples sufferings; and in order to peace, was willing to reside neer *London*, and receive such Propositions as they would send, and treat with them.

As soon as the Commissioners were gone with this Answer, the King's Artillery (for so all Relations agree) advanced forward with the Horse, thorow *Colebrook*, after

after them toward *London*; and taking advantage of a great Mist, which happened that Night, they marched to *Brainford*, and fell upon the Parliaments Forces that were quartered there, which was a broken Regiment of Colonel *Hollis*'s.

The King's Army killed many of them, and had, in likelihood, utterly destroyed them all, if the Lord *Brook*'s and Colonel *Hamden*'s Regiments, that were billeted not far off, had not come in to their relief; who maintained a great and bloody fight against the King's Army, till both sides at Night retreated: many were slain and taken Prisoners on both sides, and both reported themselves Conquerers, as before it happened at *Keynton* Battel.

News of this unexpected Fight was soon at *London*, where the General was sitting in Parliament, whither also the noise of their great Artillery was easily heard: he took Horse immediately, to get strength together, and relieve his engaged men; but Night had parted them, and the King was retired to his best advantages.

All that Night, Forces came out of *London* thither, so that on the Sunday Morning, being the fourteenth of *November*, a wonderful

derful number of armed men were met, and had so far encompast the King's Army, (small in comparison of them) that many hoped for an end of the War: but God was not so pleased; for the King escaped by reason of this error: Three thousand Parliament Souldiers were then at *Kingston*; they were commanded to leave that Town, and march speedily thorow *Surrey*, and over *London*-Bridge, so thorow the City, to *Brainford*, to stop the Enemies passage to *London*. A reason of that Command was afterwards given, because the Lord General was not assured of strength enough to stop the Enemy from going to *London*; nor could he be beforehand sure of so great a Force, as he afterwards perceived to be come to him before morning.

Thus did the encloſed King escape, and retreated thorow that Town of *Kingston*, being so abandon'd by the Parliaments souldiers; and after he had plundered the country thereabouts, retired safely to his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*.

The Parliament considering this action of the King, began to hope little upon any Treaty; resolving, That the General should speedily pursue the King's Forces, and fall upon

upon them : and the City of *London*, to encourage the Parliament, made a Petition to them; wherein they entreated, *That they would proceed no further in the buſineſs of Accommodation, becauſe evil counſel was ſo prevalent with the King, that he would but delude them; that they had heard his Forces are weak; and entreat, that his Excellency would follow, and fall upon them; the City, as heretofore, being ready to ſpend with all willingneſs their lives and fortunes to aſſiſt the Parliament.*

For which Petition and Proteſtation, the Parliament returned thanks to the City; and according as they deſired, it was decreed in Parliament.

FINIS.

Book II.

A Short mention of the Progreſs of this Civil War.

THe beginnings of the Civil war, together with the Series of cauſes from whence it ſprung, as likewiſe the degrees by which it grew, have been already breifly and clearly ſhewed; The things which remain to be unfolded are of ſo great a weight, of ſo various a nature, and of ſo many peices, that ſcarce any Hiſtorian (I might ſay Hiſtory it ſelf) is ſufficient to weave fully together ſo many particulars: my intention therefore is to make onely a ſhort mention, not a full Narration, of that Variety.

For the War went on with hortid rage in many places at one time; and the fire once kindled, caſt forth through every corner of

the land not onely sparks but devouring flames; insomuch as the kingdom of *England* was divided into more Wars than Counties; nor had she more fields than skirmishes, nor Cities than Sieges; and almost all the Palaces of Lords, and great Houses were turned every where into Garrisons of War: they fought at once by Sea and Land; and through all *England* (who could but lament the miseries of his Country) sad spectacles were of plundering and firing Villages; and the fields; otherwise wast and desolate, were rich onely and terribly glorious in Camps and Armies.

The following Summer, namely in the year one thousand six hundred forty three, proved for a long time fatal to the Parliament, and Fortune seemed to have condemned the cause of liberty; so exceedingly did the Kings party flourish in successes and Victories, and the Parliaments condition every where low so that they were neer to ruine, who in the end prevailed.

In the West Sir *William Waller*, a Parliament-chieftain, who had gotten divers Victories, and then almost quite vanquished Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was at last (namely in *July*) utterly defeated by the Lord *Wilmot*, who came from *Oxford* with an Army of the King's

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and having loſt all his Army, returned to *London*: and ſuch as the fortune of the Field was, was the condition of Towns and Garriſons; for immediately after *Wallers* defeat, the two greateſt Cities of all the Weſt were yeilded up, *Briſtol* to Prince *Rupert*, and *Exceſter* to Prince *Maurice*.

At the ſame time, in the North of *England*, was the like ſucceſs; where the Lord *Fairfax*, who, with his valiant Son, had long and proſperouſly maintained the cauſe of the Parliament, being now over-powred by a puiſſant Enemy, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and almoſt all his Forces ſcattered, was driven into *Hull*, and there beſieged.

Eſſex himſelf the great General at the ſame time, his Army decreaſing ſuddainly, ſome dying of ſickneſs, others for want for ſaking their colours, was conſtrained to leave the field, and return to *London*, quartering the ſick and weak remnant of his Army at *Kingſton*, and other adjacent places, until a Recruit could be made for him.

The Parliamentarians were now in a deſperate condition, and their ſtrengths every where broken; on the other ſide the Royaliſts ſtrong and dreadful in Arms, Men, and Horſes, conquerours of all the *Weſt*, of *Wales*, and the North of *England*, as far as the very

borders of *Scotland*. One onely Town of Note in the Midland Country, *Glocester*, stood out yet, faithful and constant to the Parliament, and much desired by the King; who in great disdain that this Town (after *Bristol* and *Exceter* were yeilded) should stand out, came in person to besiedge it with a great Army.

The Queen was now arrived in *England*, and had brought with her great store of Armes, bought in *Holland* with the money which she had raised by pawning the Crown-Jewels there; whose coming at this time seemed rather to a Triumph than a War.

Glocester not onely staid the career of the Kings Victories; but made a great change in the Conditions of the sides. The City was gallantly defended against a great and flourishing Army; wherein *Massey* the Governour justly gained a wonderful renown; so long did he defend the City, until General *Essex* could be recruited with an Army great enough to raise the Siege, and march thither, from *London*, eighty miles.

Famous and honourable, in the judement of all men, was that expedition of General *Essex*, who by so long a March, fighting often with great bodies of the Kings Horse by the

way, brought notwithstanding his whole Army safe to *Glocester*, raised the Siege, relieved that Town, and in his retreat from thence encountered, and vanquished the Kings Army in that memorable Battel of *Newberry*.

After this time the Parliament revived; of whose condition Wise men might justly have doubted, if the King, leaving *Glocester*, had marched directly with his Victorious Army to *London*; which was then not at all fortified, and miserably distracted with factions within it. Or besides, if the Earl of *Newcastle*, letting alone the besieging of *Hull* (which likewise proved fruitless) had powred out his numerous forces upon the Eastern associated Counties: but it otherwise pleased God, who is the onely Lord of Hoasts, and by whose providence all things are guided.

Both sides now, by this Victory of *Essex*, seemed to be put into an equal ballance both of strength and reputation; and this sad War not onely likely to be continued, but extended to a greater latitude: on one side the Parliament inviting to their assistance their brethren of *Scotland*: on the other side the King calling in his Irish. The Scots by a *Covenant* to be taken by both Nations for conservation of Religion, Laws and Liberties: the Irish by a cessation of Armes granted by the King

(a peace being alſo promiſed) were drawn in.

The Scots promiſed to the Parliament (from whom Commiſſioners were ſent to *Edinburgh* about that buſineſs) that they would bring into *England* to their aſſiſtance an Army conſiſting of one and twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot: the Parliament engaged themſelves to pay the Scots one hundred thouſand pounds toward the charge of raiſing that Army.

But the King dealt not ſo openly with thoſe bloudy Iriſh, in bargaining for their aſſiſtance, but by a pretence of ceſſation of Arms for the behoof of the Engliſh Proteſtants in that Kingdom; which ceſſation notwithſtanding was for the benefit of the Iriſh Rebels; in lieu of which favour, they gave the King thirty thouſand pounds.

This was that ceſſation of Arms ſo much ſpoken againſt by honeſt men in *London*, for that reaſon eſpecially, that it was directly againſt a Law, and the Kings faith: for it was enacted by authority of Parliament (the King alſo ſigning the Act) in the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty one, *That the War againſt thoſe bloudy Iriſh Rebels ſhould proceed, untill it were declared by Parliament, that Ireland were fully ſubdued, and that no*

peace,

peace, nor any ceſſation of Arms ſhould be made with thoſe Rebels, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Thus was aſſiſtance brought to either ſide; to the King (which he eſpecially aimed at in this buſineſs) that Engliſh Army, which for almoſt a whole years ſpace had fought valiantly and victoriouſly againſt thoſe Rebels, was now brought into *England* (within five moneths after that ceſſation) to fight againſt the Parliament of *England*: but the cauſe being changed, the fortune of thoſe Souldiers was likewiſe changed, for they had no ſucceſs in *England*, but within a ſhort time after their arrival, that whole Army was utterly defeated; and all their cheif commanders, with ſeventeen hundred common Souldiers, were taken priſoners by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

The Scottiſh Army, that Winter following, about the middle of *January*, paſſing over *Tweed* came into *England*. The Earl of *Leven* was General, his kinſman *David Leſley* commanded the Horſe: the ſnow that fell at that time covered the ground in an unuſual depth, and as great a froſt had congealed all the rivers; but the heat of fighting was greater than the rigor of the air, and the patience of Souldiers overcame the hard weather: The Earl of *Leven* marched with his forces

againſt the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; who with a great Army poſſeſſed the Northern parts of *England* for the King; nor did the War go on with leſs vigour in other parts. In the beginning of the Spring great Armies were raiſed on both ſides, and filled all the countries with terrour: all the following Summer, which fell in the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty four, they fought with equal fury, and almoſt equal fortunes; inſomuch as that *England* by the dubiouſneſs of ſucceſs on both ſides, and ſad viciſſitude of calamitous ſlaughters, was made an unhappy Kingdom.

The Kings fortune was ſuſteined by brave Armies in the Weſt, under the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*; in *Wales* under *Gerard*, and others; in the midland Counties under Sir *Jacob Aſhley* an old Souldier; other Armies were commanded by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Colonel *Goring*, and in the North the Earl of *Newcaſtles* great Army.

Nor were the forces of Parliament inferiour; the cheif Army under the General *Eſſex*; *Waller* commanded another; the Earl of *Manchester*, to whom *Crumwell*, a ſtout and ſucceſsful Souldier was joyned, led a ſtrong Army toward the North, where the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son had good forces, and Sir *John Meldrum* not far off; the Earl

of *Denbigh* a ſtout Commander was with a fair Party about *Strafford*; and beſides theſe, the great Scottiſh Army.

At the beginning of that Summer the Parliament attempted a thing of great moment, to beſiege *Oxford*, or at leaſt to block up the King within that Town, which was endeavoured by two Armies, *Eſſex* on the one ſide, and *Waller* on the other; but the King deceived them both, and with a few light Horſe, eſcaping out of the Town, went to joyn with his greater Armies.

General *Eſſex* marched farther into the Weſt, but the expedition proved unhappy both to himſelf and the Parliament: *Waller* followed the King, but in vain, for he could not hinder his deſigned March, onely ſome skirmiſhes happened between parts of their Forces: but nothing was done of any great moment, until *Waller* returned with his force to encounter enemies in other places. Various were the ſucceſſes this Summer in moſt parts of the Kingdom; in the Weſt, South, and midland Counties, the Kings forces prevailed above the Parliament, which perchance had been ruined, if the North had not made them amends with ſome atchievements, beſides one great Victory.

For *Leven* with his Scottiſh forces coming

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the last Winter into *England*, besides the taking of some Towns and Forts, had much weakened *Newcastles* Army, lessening their number, not by fighting, but enduring the sharpness of that weather, which the other could not so well doe. To *Leven* the Lord *Fairfax* (after *Selby* was so miraculously taken by valiant Sir *Thomas Fairfax*) joyned himself with all his forces, to whom also the Earl of *Manchester* (after his *Lincoln* expedition) came with a gallant Army.

Three Parliament Armies, under three Generals, *Leven*, *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, with great concord, and unanimity had marched together, and with joyned forces had besieged the great City of *York*, whereof the Earl of *Newcastle* was Governour; to raise the siege Prince *Rupert* was come with a great Army out of the South; the three Generals left their siege to fight the Prince; under him also *Newcastle* having drawn his forces out of *York*, served; who on a great plain called *Marston-Moore* gave battel to the three Generals.

This was the greatest battel of the whole civil war; never did greater Armies both in number and strength encounter, or drew more bloud in one fight. The Victory at first was almost gotten by the Royalists, whose left

left Wing (*Fairfax* his men being disadvantaged by the inconvenience of the ground) had routed and put to flight the right wing of the Parliamentarians: but this loss was more than recompenced in the other Wing; where *Crumwell* (who fought under *Manchester*) charged with such force and fury the right wing of the Royalists, that he broke the best Regiments which Prince *Rupert* had, and put them all to flight: *Crumwel*, together with *David Lesley*, pursued them; and wheeling about with his Horse, came opportunely to the releif of his oppressed friends in the other Wing, where they ceased not, until they had gained a compleat Victory, and all Prince *Rupert* his Ordnance, his carriages, and baggage were possessed by the Parliamentarians.

After this Victory, *Rupert* with the remnant of his forces fled into the South, some of the Victorious Armies Horse in vain pursuing him for some miles; the Earl of *Newcastle*, with some of his chosen friends, leaving *York* (of which City Sir *Thomas Glenham* took the government) went to *Scarborough*; where within a while after he took shipping, and passed into *Germany*.

The three Generals, *Leven*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax* after this great Victory returned

ed to besiege *York*; to whom that City soon after, upon conditions, was rendered; after which they divided their forces, and *Leven* with his Scottish Army returning into the North, about the end of that Summer took the rich Town of *Newcastle*; about the same time that the General *Essex* unfortunately managed his business in the West, and having lost all his Artillery, returned to *London*.

This Summer the Queen passed into *France*, and used great endeavour to raise aid for the King her husband, among the Roman Catholikes, but those endeavours proved fruitless, yet notwithstanding, the War in *England*, without strangers help, went on with rage and bloud enough.

In midst of these calamities of War, some hope of peace began to appear (though it soon vanished again) and conditions were proposed both by King and Parliament; upon which, in the following *February* (as hereafter shall be said) they both treated. The end of this year, and beginning of the next were notably tragical in the punishment and death of eminent men: the two *Hothams*, Father and Son, having been condemned for Treason, for breaking the trust of Parliament, and conspiring with the enemy to betray *Hull*, with other crimes, after they had been im-

imprisoned above a whole year in the Tower of *London*, were this *December* both beheaded; and Sir *Alexander Carew* not many dayes before, who was condemned for the same crime, suffered the same punishment: Famous also at that time was the death of *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the crimes objected against him were too many, and of too various a nature to be here related: four years almost had this unhappy old man been a prisoner, yet not enjoyed so much as the quiet of a prison; for oftentimes (about fourscore several dayes) he was carried from the Tower to *Westminster*, and there arraigned in the House of Lords; so the Fates were pleased in a sad compensation to equal his adversity, even in time with his prosperity.

This *January* he was beheaded, his life being spun out so long, till he might see (which was the observation of many) some few daies before his death, the book of Liturgy abolished, and the Directory, composed by the *Synod* at *Westminster*, established.

Though the King and Parliament were both thinking of a Treaty for Peace, yet the care of War was not neglected; the King being solicitous about getting of forreign aid, and the Parliament about new modelling

their

their own Army: About this buſineſs (which ſeemed of the higheſt concern) there was ſome debate between the Lords and Commons; the Lords were againſt that Change, alleaging that there was no need of new Commanders, where the old ones could be accuſed of no fault, that men of the nobleſt rank were fitteſt to command Armies, the contrary whereof might breed confuſion in the Common-wealth. The Houſe of Commons on the other ſide, though they made a noble mention of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and thoſe other Peers, which commanded in the Armies, alleaged notwithſtanding that the Parliament forces had been often diſtracted through the emulation of Commanders, from whence it proceeded, that ſome things very well deſigned, had not had a proſperous iſſue, that the Army would be better diſciplined under one ſole Commander.

At laſt, when they were agreed, a General was choſen to command the new Army, which was Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of eminent valour, and as much modeſty, who was then abſent in the North; but ſo great a buſineſs could not ſuddainly be finiſhed: and now the time approached for the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, in which three heads were to be debated.

1. Of

1. *Of Religion and Church government.*
2. *Of the* Militia *of* England.
3. *Concerning the buſineſs of* Ireland.

But the King, before this Treaty began, uſed all meanes to aſſure himſelf of forreign aid; by Letters he urged the Queen, who was then in *France*, to ſolicite that King, and other Catholikes to aſſiſt him, and that the Queen Regent would detain the Parliaments Ships in *France*. He was very earneſt likewiſe for aſſiſtance from the Duke of *Lorraign*, that he might get into *England* that wicked Army of his, ſo notorious through *Germany* and *Flanders* for all Villany; of which Army, as of that of *Marius*, when he entred *Rome*, it may be ſaid.

——*Nulli geſtanda dabantur,*
Signa Ducis, niſi qui ſcelerum jam fecerat uſum,
Attuleratq; in Caſtra nefas.

——No man his Enſigns bore,
But who the badge of ſome known miſcheif wore,
And brought guilt to the Camp.

At laſt hope was given him from the Duke of *Lorraign*, of ten thouſand men; and for bringing

bringing of these Souldiers into *England*, *Goffe* was sent into *Holland* to negotiate for shipping and other necessaries.

The King likewise desired assistance at that time from the bloudy Irish Rebels, and by his Letters commanded *Ormond* to make a peace with those Rebels, and to promise and grant to them a free exercise of their popish Religion, and to assure them, that if by their assistance he could but finish his War in *England*, he would abrogate all those Laws heretofore made against the Papists there: he gave thanks likewise to *Muskery*, *Plunket*, and other of those Rebels, promising a pardon for all that was past. But they were much troubled at the Treaty for peace with the Parliament, not being ignorant, that one necessary condition of such a peace must be, that the War in *Ireland* against them should be continued and prosecuted: The King therefore, to remove this their scrupulous fear, wrote to *Ormond* to this effect: *That he could not refuse to make a peace with his Parliament, onely in favour of those Irish; yet notwithstanding from that very consideration* (if Ormund *handled the matter wisely*) *he might raise an advantage to hasten a peace with those Irish, in letting them know their own danger, how they were excluded from all hope of pardon by the*

Parliament,

Parliament, For (ſaith he) *if we agree upon all other conditions, it will not be convenient for me to diſagree onely concerning thoſe Iriſh; therefore let them take what I offer, while time is, and haſten the Peace, and when once my faith is paſſed, no humane force ſhall make me break it.*

The Queen alſo (remaining in *France*) writing to her husband, ſeemed to grieve much, that at *Uxbridge* they were to treat of *Religion* in the firſt place; affirming, *That if any thing ſevere againſt the Catholikes ſhould be concluded, and yet a peace not be made, the King could not hope hereafter for any aſſiſtance from the Catholike Princes, or from the Iriſh, who muſt needs think, that after they had done their beſt, they ſhould at laſt be forſaken.* She often entreats the King, that he would never forſake the Biſhops, the Catholikes, nor thoſe faithful friends of his that ſerved him in his Wars: the King promiſeth her, that he would never forſake his friends for a peace, onely perſwades her to haſten, as much as ſhe can, the aides from *France*, ſaying, *That whileſt London is diſtracted between the Preſbiterians and Independents, both may be ruined.*

In *February* the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Uxbridge* to treat for peace. For the King came the Duke of *Richmond*, the

Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Dorſet* and *Chicheſter*, the Lords, *Dunſmore* and *Capel*, with *Seimour*, *Culpeper*, *Gardiner*, *Hide*, *Lane*, *Bridgman*, *Palmer*, and others. For the Parliament, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrooke*, *Salisbury*, and *Denbigh*; of the Houſe of Commons, *Wainman*, *Vane*, *Perpoint*, *Hollis*, *Prideaux*, *Saint John*, *Whitlock*, and *Crew*; and beſides theſe, ſix Commiſſioners of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*.

But nothing at all was concluded at that Treaty. The King would by no means conſent to the abrogation of Epiſcopacy; nor in the ſecond place, would he ſuffer the *Militia* to be taken out of his hands, which he conceived to be a cheif flower of his Crown. Yet he was contented that for three yeares it ſhould be governed by twenty equally choſen out of both ſides. Laſtly, to the proſecution of a War againſt the Iriſh he could not conſent, having made a ceſſation of Arms with them, which in Honour he could not break.

Thus nothing at all being done toward peace, the War muſt decide it. The Parliament haſten the modelling of their new Army. The Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh*, freely and volunta-

rily lay down their Commiſſions.

The new modelled Army of the Parliament conſiſted of twenty one thouſand, namely, fourteen thouſand foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Dragoneers. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General; *Philip Skippon*, an excellent ſouldier, was made Major General: Colonels of the Foot Regiments were *Holborn*, *Forteſcue*, *Barclay*, *Craford*, *Ingolesby*, *Mountain*, *Pickering*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*, *Aldridge*: of Horſe Regiments, Sir *Michael Leveſey*, *Sheffield*, *Middleton*, *Sidney*, *Graves*, *Vermuden*, *Whaley*, *Fleetwood*, *Roſſiter*, *Py*. The King on the other ſide had great Forces under divers Commanders, to whom he diſtributed ſeveral Provinces: the Princes *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, with numerous forces poſſeſſed ſome of the Northern parts of the Kingdom; others were held by the Earl of *Derby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: Sir *John Biron* and *Gerard* held *Wales* and ſome adjacent Counties. The Weſt was wholly poſſeſſed by three Armies of his, under the ſeveral Commands of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and Colonel *Goring*. All theſe three, though Generals by themſelves, yet ſerved under the name of *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, as their ſupreme General.

p.102. But the King, not content with ſo great a force of Engliſh Souldiers, was more earneſt than before, to get over the Iriſh Papiſts, with whom he had before committed the buſineſs to *Ormund* to make an abſolute peace: but when the King perceived that thoſe Iriſh made too high demands, and that nothing was effected by *Ormund* toward the peace in ſo many Treaties, and ſo long a time, he thought of another way, which was, to the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, Son to *Worceſter* (whom he had created Earl of *Glamorgan*) a zealous Papiſt, and therefore moſt acceptable to thoſe Iriſh Rebels; the King gave full power by his Letters, to make a peace with, and indulge to the Iriſh whatſoever ſhould ſeem needful: It ſeemed ſtrange to all men (when theſe things were brought to light, which was before the end of that year) that ſuch a buſineſs ſhould be carried on, and yet concealed from the Lord *Digby*, Secretary for *Ireland*, and *Ormund* the Lord Lieutenant, to whom the whole matter of that peace had been before committed.

But the King, when he ſaw it too hard a thing otherwiſe to make ſuch a peace, as would bring a certainty of aſſiſtance from them, that he might throw all that Envy upon *Glamorgan*, impowred him, unknown to the reſt:

reſt: for ſo the Rebels, ſweetened with large promiſes (unknown to *Ormund*) might the better admit of conditions juſt in ſhew, and openly excuſable, and the King might draw from *Ireland* ſuch Souldiers as would more firmly adhere to his ſide, and he might truſt (as being the greateſt haters of Engliſh Proteſtants, and deſpairing of pardon) againſt the Parliament of *England*.

He therefore gave Letters of authority to *Glamorgan*, in theſe words:

CHARLES *by the grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Truſty and well beloved Couſin*, Edward, *Earl of* Glamorgan *Greeting*: *Being confident of your wiſdom and fidelity, We do by theſe Letters, as if under our great Seal, grant unto you full power and authority to Treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholikes of* Ireland, *and to indulge to them all thoſe things which neceſſity ſhall require, and which we cannot ſo commodiouſly do by our Lieutenant, nor our Self publickly own at preſent. Therefore We command that you do this buſineſs with as much ſecreſie as can be: whatſoever you ſhall think fit to be promiſed in my name, that do I atteſt upon the word*

of a King, and a Chriſtian, to grant to thoſe Confederate Catholikes, who by their aſſiſtance have abundantly ſhewed their zeal to us, and our Cauſe. Given at Oxford, *under our Royal Seal the twelfth day of* March, *and twentieth year of our Raign.*

Nor into *England* onely did he endeavour to bring thoſe Iriſh, but into *Scotland*, which he effected, to the great damage of that unhappy Kingdom, by *Montroſs*, about the beginning of the year, 1644. when the Scottiſh Covenanters came into *England* to aſſiſt the Parliament, *Montroſs* went to *Oxford* to the King, to offer his ſervice againſt the Covenanters in *Scotland*: The King, to fit him for that purpoſe, created him a Marqueſs, and gave him his Commiſſion, to be Lord Governour of *Scotland*, and General of all his forces; the King then alſo ſent for the Earl of *Antrim*, to participate with *Montroſs* his Councels, who entering into a confederacy with him before the King, engaged himſelf there, that he would ſend to *Montroſs* the next *April* into *Arguile* (where the paſſage is ſhort into *Ireland*) ten thouſand Iriſh.

This promiſe at the appointed time *Antrim* performed in part, but was very deficient in the number of Souldiers, for inſtead of

ten thouſand, he ſent ſcarce twelve hundred Iriſh into *Scotland* under the conduct of *Macdonald*. *Montroſs* notwithſtanding with theſe men, with the addition of his Atholians, made up a ſufficient theeving Army, and making ſudden excurſions, he fell into the neighbouring Countries, waſting all, robbing houſes, and burning up the Corn where he came, inſomuch as that the State had need of great Armies to reſtrain his violence, whilſt the craggy Mountains of Atholia, and rough woody places there gave ſafe retreat to his Highlanders and Iriſh.

In this manner did *Montroſs*, for the ſpace almoſt of two years, lie within the bowels of his Country like a peſtilent diſeaſe; ſuch were his retreats, and ſo great his boldneſs in excurſions, that no leſs an Army than twelve thouſand was thought ſufficient to defend the Provinces againſt him.

But *Montroſs* was toſſed with various turns of Fortune. The firſt Summer after his arrival in *Scotland*, he gave the Earl of *Argile* a great blow, through the negligence of his men, where fifteen hundred were ſlain and taken by *Montroſs*; whereupon the Parliament of *Scotland* raiſed an Army of ten thouſand againſt him, and the ſame parliament condemned *Montroſs* (with ſome other

Lords) to be a Traitor and Enemy to his Country. *Montroſs* afterwards received a great overthrow from *Hurry*, and was enforced to fly to his craggy retreats; and ſhortly after he was again beaten by *Hurry* near to *Dundee*, and abſolutely forced to hide himſelf in his old receptacles: from whence notwithſtanding on a ſudden (as ſhall be ſhewed anon) he ſhewed himſelf, and from a contemptible eſtate grown juſtly formidable, he overwhelmed *Scotland* in a miſerable calamity.

While the King perſiſted in theſe courſes, the Kirk of *Scotland*, from the Synod at *Edinburgh* ſent Letters to him, containing a ſerious admonition; which (becauſe the admonition of a National Church may ſeem a thing of ſome moment) ſhall be ſet down *verbatim*, the Preface onely omitted, becauſe long, though very humble.

THE troubles of our hearts are enlarged, and our fears encreaſed in your Majeſties behalf, perceiving that your Peoples patience is above meaſure tempted, & is like a Cart preſſed down with Sheaves, and ready to break, while as beſides many former deſigns and endeavours to bring deſolation and deſtruction upon us, which were (and we truſt all of that kind ſhall be)

be) by the marvellous and merciful providence of God discovered and disappointed; our Countrey is now infested, the blood of divers of our brethren spilt, and other acts of most barbarous and horrid cruelty exercised by the cursed crew of the Irish Rebels, and their complices in this Kingdom, under the conduct of such as have Commission and Warrant from your Majesty: and unless we prove unfaithful both to God and your Majesty, we cannot conceal another danger, which is infinitely greater than your Peoples displeasure. Therefore, we, the servants of the most high God, and your Majesties most loyal Subjects, in the humility and grief of our hearts, fall down before your Throne, and in the name of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who shall judge the World in Righteousness, both great and small; and in the name of this whole Nationall Kirk, which we represent, we make bold to warn your Majesty freely, that the guilt which cleaveth fast to your Majesty, and to your Throne, is such, as (whatsoever flattering Preachers, or unfaithful Counsellors may say to the contrary) if not timely repented, cannot but involve your self, and your posterity under the wrath of the everliving God: for your being guilty of the shedding of the blood of many thousands of your Majesties best subjects: for your permitting the Mass, and other Idola-

try,

try, both in your own Family, & in your Dominions: for your authorizing by the book of sports, the prophanation of the Lords day: for your not punishing of publike scandals, and much prophaneness in and about your Court: for the shutting of your ears from the humble and just desires of your faithful subjects: for your complying too much with the popish party many wayes, and namely by concluding the cessation of Armes in Ireland; *and your embracing the councels of those who have not set God nor your good before their eyes: for your resisting and appeasing this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, your own honour, and happiness, and the peace, and safety of your Kingdomes: and for what other causes, your Majesty is most conscious, and may best judge and search your own conscience (nor would we have mentioned any particulars, if they had not been publike and known) For all which it is high time for your Majesty to fall down at the foot-stool of the King of glory, to acknowledge your offences, to repent timely, to make your peace with God through Jesus Christ (whose blood is able to wash away your great sins) and to be no longer unwilling that the Son of God reign over you, and your Kingdoms, in his pure Ordinances of Church-government and Worship.*

They

They conclude with a profeſſion and proteſtation of their conſtancy in ſo juſt a cauſe, againſt any oppoſition whatſoever. This admonition of the generall Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* was ſent firſt to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners at *London*, and by them delivered to the Kings Secretary, but Eccleſiaſtical admonition, in the heat of War, little availed.

When the Spring began, the War with great heat and courage on both ſides was renewed. Generall *Eſſex* had laid down his Commiſſion, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* went to *Windſor* to his new-modelled Army; a new Army indeed, made up of ſome remainders of the old ones, and other raiſed forces in the Countries; an Army ſeeming no way glorious either in the dignity of Commanders, or antiquity of Souldiers; never hardly did any Army go forth to War with leſs confidence of their own ſide, or more contempt of their enemies, and did more bravely deceive both, and ſhew how far it was poſſible for humane conjectures to erre. For in their following actions and ſucceſſe, they proved ſuch, as would too much poſe antiquity, among all the Camps of the [illegible] famed *Heroes*, to find a parallel to this [illegible] army.

He that will ſeriouſly weigh their atchievements

ments in the following year, againſt potent and gallant Enemies, and conſider the greatneſs of things, the number of Victories, how many battels were woon, how many Towns and Garriſons were taken, he can hardly think them the work of one year, or fit to be called one War.

But whoſoever conſiders this, muſt take heed that he do not attribute too much to them, but give it wholly to Almighty God, whoſe providence over this Army, as it did afterwards miraculouſly appear, ſo it might in ſome meaſure be hoped for at the firſt, conſidering the behaviour and diſcipline of thoſe Souldiers. For the uſual vices of Camps were here reſtrained, the diſcipline was ſtrict, no theft, no wantonneſs, no oaths, nor any prophane words could eſcape without the ſevereſt caſtigation; by which it was brought to paſs, that in this Camp, as in a well ordered City, paſſage was ſafe, and commerce free.

The firſt expedition of General *Fairfax*, as it was ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms, was into the Weſt, to releive *Taunton*; a Town that had long, with incredible manhood and conſtancy, under *Blake* their Governour, endured a ſharp ſiege by Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and ſeemed to emulate (though with more happineſs) the fidelity of old

old *Sagunthum*: but this work was not done by the General himſelf, but Colonel *Welden*, who was ſent thither with ſeven thouſand of the new Army. *Fairfax* himſelf was recalled by the Committee of both Kingdoms to go upon other action.

But becauſe the King had ſent for Prince *Rupert* from *Wales* to come to *Oxford*, that he might joyn forces, and march into the field; General *Fairfax*, before he went from *Windſor*, ſent *Cromwell* with a party of Horſe to hinder the Kings deſigns; who marching ſpeedily from *Windſor*, with great felicity vanquiſhed a part of the Kings forces at *Iſlip-bridge*, taking divers of the Commanders priſoners, the remainder of that party flying into *Bletchington* Houſe, were there beſieged, and yeilded to *Cromwell*; with the ſame ſucceſs at *Bampton-buſh* he took *Vaughan* and *Littleton*, and defeated their forces.

The King, when Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* were come to him with their forces, deſigned his march toward the *Eaſt*, to take poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Ely*, which he hoped would be betrayed to him by ſome of his party there. *Cromwell*, and Major General *Brown* the Governor of *Abington*, were commanded to follow the King, but ſoon recalled, as too weak in forces to encounter the King,

King, and to aſſiſt General *Fairfax* in beſieging of *Oxford*, for then *Fairfax* was ordered to beſiege *Oxford*; but the deſign was not good, and the Commmittee of both Kingdoms, though too late, repented it.

For in the mean time the King ſecurely marched Northward with his Army, and took the conſiderable Town of *Leiceſter*.

Fairfax recalled from the ſiege of *Oxford*, (while *Cromwell* was ſent away to ſtrengthen the Eaſtern Counties) with all his forces followed the King; nor was the famous battel long deferred, in which all men conjectured what the liberties and Laws of *England*, and what the Kings power ſhould be, muſt be tried by the ſword. *Naſeby* fields, not far from *Northampton*, were the place where the fate of *England* was to be determined. The fourteenth of *June* was the memorable day: nor was the number of the Armies very unequal (the Royaliſts onely were ſtrongeſt in Horſe) nor the ordering of their Battaliaes much unlike: The Kings Front was filled with brave Troops of Horſe; the Foot ſtood in the ſecond Body. The right wing was commanded by the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*; the left by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, other Commanders of great quality ſuſteining their parts.

The

The Parliamentarian Foot made a firm Body in the midſt. The wings were guarded by the Horſe, the right wing was commanded by *Cromwell*, who to the exceeding joy of the whole Army, that very night before the battel was fought arrived there: the left wing by *Ireton*: Colonel *Roſſiter*, a brave Commander, but a little before the battel began, came with his Horſe, and took his place with *Cromwell* on the right wing: the Foot was commanded by Major General *Skippon*, and divided into two Bodies. The Parliamentarians word was, *God with us*. The Roialiſts, *God and Queen* Mary.

Fortune at the firſt (as in ſome other battels) ſeemed a while to flatter the Kings ſide, for the left wing of the Parliament was worſted, and the Commander *Ireton*, receiving two wounds, was taken Priſoner, and kept ſo during the fight. Prince *Rupert* with great fury fell in, and purſued that routed wing; inſomuch that the day had been loſt, if *Cromwell*, who came on with as great force, had not in like manner routed and overthrown the Kings left wing: the buſineſs now ſeemed in an equal ballance, and the wings on both ſides being thus ſcattered, they fought ſome time upon dubious hopes: magnanimous *Skippon* was grievouſly wounded,

wounded, yet would not forſake the battel, but with all poſſible endeavours diſcharged his part till the Victory was obtained: the *Fairfaxians* at laſt charged ſo fiercely upon the Roialiſts, that they no longer could endure the brunt; the Horſe in all diſordered haſt fled toward *Leiceſter*, and forſook the whole body of their Foot, with their Artillery and carriages, who being ſurrounded by the *Fairfaxians*, threw down their Arms, crying for Quarter, and were all taken Priſoners.

This battel was the happieſt of all other to the Parliament, the Victory abſolute, and undoubted, and almoſt five thouſand priſoners carried to *London*; the Kings Standard, and one hundred other colours were taken, with all their Ordnance, and a very rich booty; a great quantity of gold and ſilver, and all the ſecret Letters of the King came by this meanes into the Conquerous hands; but ſo few were ſlain in this battel, that a reader may juſtly wonder how ſo many priſoners ſhould be taken, and ſo much wealth purchaſed with the loſs of ſo little bloud, for on the Kings ſide ſcarce four hundred were ſlain, on the Parliaments ſcarce an hundred. *Cromwell* with his Horſe purſued the vanquiſhed Roialiſts (who fled apace, and betook themſelves

themſelves to divers of their own Garriſons) and bringing back a great number of Priſoners, returned to the General, who now marched with his Victorious Army to *Leiceſter*, which was ſoon rendred to him. *Fairfax*, leaving a Garriſon in *Leiceſter*, that he might make uſe of his Victory to the good of the Common-wealth, and hinder the King from recruiting himſelf, to protract this ſad War, reſolved to follow him cloſe; he therefore marched Weſtward, that he might both purſue the King, and raiſe the Siege of *Taunton*.

The Kings letters taken at *Naſeby* were publikely read in *London* before a great Aſſembly of Citizens, where many of both Houſes of Parliament were preſent, and leave was given to as many as pleaſed, or knew the Kings hand (to refute the calumny of thoſe who ſaid the Letters were counterfeit) to peruſe them all, out of which a ſelected bundle were printed by command of the Parliament.

From the reading of theſe Letters many diſcourſes of the people aroſe, for there appeared his tranſactions with the Iriſh Rebels, and with the Queen for aſſiſtance from *France*, and the Duke of *Lorraign*, of which before is ſpoken. Many good men were ſorry

that the Kings actions agreed no better with his words; that he openly protested before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing so much as the preservation of Protestant Religion, and rooting out of Popery: yet in the mean time under hand he promised to the Irish Rebels an abrogation of those Laws against them, which was contrary to his late expressed promises, in these words, *I will never abrogate the Laws against the Papists*: and again, *I abhor to think of bringing forraign Souldiers into the Kingdom*: and yet he solicited the Duke of *Lorraign*, the *French*, the *Danes*, and the very *Irish* for assistance: they were vexed also, that the King was so much ruled by the will of his wife, as to do every thing by her prescript, that *Peace*, *War*, *Religion*, and Parliament should be at her disposal.

It appeared besides out of those Letters, with what mind the King treated with the Parliament at *Uxbridge*, and what could be hoped by that Treaty, when writing to the Queen, he affirms, that if he could have had but two more consenting to his Vote, he would not have given the name of Parliament to them at *Westminster*: at last he agreed to it in this sense, *That it was not all one to call them a Parliament, and to acknowledge them so*

to be; and upon that reaſon (which might have diſpleaſed his own ſide) he calls thoſe with him at *Oxford*, *a mungrel Parliament*.

The King, after his overthrow at *Naſeby*, fled to *Lichfield*, and from thence he went to *Hereford*, to raiſe forces (eſpecially Foot, for he had ſtill ſtore of brave Horſe, that came to him after that Battel) in *Wales*, in *Cornwall*, and in other places; but nothing at all that following year proſpered with the King, Fortune enclining wholly to the Parliaments ſide, whoſe cauſe it appeared that God approved, by the grant of ſo many ſtrange and ſignal Victories to them; the valour of the Royaliſts availed not, and all their endeavours fell to nothing.

General *Fairfax*, after the Battel of *Naſeby*, by long Marches paſſed into the Weſt. *Taunton* was relieved onely by the fame of his approach, for *Goring* raiſed his Siege, and went away: That conſtant Town had been reduced to great extremities; it had ſuffered much, and done great things againſt ſtrong Enemies, and could not at this time in poſſibility have held out long without ſome releif. The Parliament rejoyced much at the delivery of that Town; three Parliament Garriſons about that time, and the foregoing year, behaved themſelves with ſuch courage

and constancy, as might deserve to be celebrated in a larger History, *viz. Lime*, *Plimouth*, and *Taunton*, all which, having been often besieged by Prince *Maurice*, *Greenvile*, *Goring*, and other Commanders, had not onely held out against those strong Enemies, but much broken their Forces.

The things which that new Army under the conduct of *Fairfax* did that following year (taking no rest all that sharp and bitter Winter) were much to be wondred at, how many strong Towns and Forts they took, how many field Victories they obtained, the stories of evey several moneth will declare; of which, because they are more acurately described by other pens, I shall here onely make a short mention; for within the space of one year all the Western Counties of *England*, great Armies under the conduct of Prince *Rupert*, *Greenvile*, *Hopton*, and *Goring*, being utterly vanquished and brought to nothing, were reduced to the obedience of Parliament.

In the moneths of *August* and *September* were taken *Bath*, and *Sherburn*, and *Bristol* it self, the greatest and most wealthiest City of the whole West, was by Prince *Rupert* surrendred to General *Fairfax*.

The Army also, when it was divided, by reason

reaſon of the multiplicity of their work, was not leſs ſucceſsful in the parts of it; *Winchester*, and *Baſing* taken by *Crommel*, the *Devizes* and *Barclay* by other Commanders, *Fairfax* himſelf marching (that cold *December*) into *Devonſhire*, took *Tiverton*, and with ſtrange felicity ſtormed and took *Dartmouth*, and afterwards drove the Kings Armies into *Cornwall*, whom *Fairfax* purſuing, at *Torrington* gave *Hopton* a great overthrow. In the moneth of *February* with his Victorious Army he entred *Cornwall*, for fear of whom Prince *Charles* fled into the Iſlands of *Silly*; and in *March* following, all *Hoptons* forces, by the Command of the Conquerour *Fairfax*, were disbanded and ſent away, and the whole County of *Cornwall* reduced to the obedience of Parliament.

In the following *April*, *Exceſter*, and *Barnſtable* were ſurrendred to *Fairfax*, and *Bridgewater* ſtormed, but when they yeilded, taken to mercy. S. *Michaels Mount*, the fartheſt angle of *Cornwall*, was alſo ſurrendred to Collonel *Hamond*. Thus *Fairfax*, the Conquerour of the Weſt, having fitted all things for his expedition, to make an end of the War, is marching to beſiege *Oxford*: *Woodſtock* was already taken by Colonel *Rainsborough*; but in all theſe moneths that

the General had done ſuch great things in the Weſt, the other Commanders of Parliament were not unfortunate (the Fates ſeeming to conſpire at that ſide) in the North, and midland Counties of *England*; about the midſt of Summer *Carlile* was ſurrendered by *Glenham* the Governour, to the Scottiſh Army, a Garriſon of Scots was put into that Town, of which the Engliſh complained, as being againſt the Covenant: the Parliament alſo wrote to *Leven* to reſtore *Carliſle* to the Engliſh; not that they did ſuſpect any evil from their Brethren, but that conditions might be obſerved, and the mouths of ill-affected people ſtopped, who were too apt to ſay, that *The Scots came into* England, *not as friends, but Freebooters*: From that time the Parliament ordained to have their Commiſſioners (as the Scots had theirs at *London*) reſident in *Edinburgh*, to be preſent with the Parliament of *Scotland*: and to that purpoſe the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Wharton*; and of the Commons, Sir *Henry Vane* the Elder, Sir *William Armin*, Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Goodwin* were choſen. *Glenham* with his men, after the ſurrender of *Carliſle*, went to *Newarke*. The Scottiſh Army about that time marched under *Leven* to *Newark*, to beſiege that Town, but the Scottiſh horſe ſtaid not

long

long there, being forced to return into the North, to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed Countrey. For the Engliſh Parliament at that time, in midſt of their own proſperity, were notwithſtanding mourners for the calamity of *Scotland*, a great, unexpected, and wonderful calamity; in which the frailty of humane affairs, and the mutable condition of Kingdoms was ſet forth by a memorable example; all *Scotland* within the ſpace of one moneth was loſt and recovered, quite ſunk, and again emergent.

The man that thus plagued *Scotland*, was the Earl of *Montroſs*, one on whom the Kings hopes ſo much then depended, that out of an earneſt deſire to joyn his forces to *Montroſs*, the King with a body of good horſe marched Northward, but by the forces of *Pointz*, *Gell*, *Roſſiter*, and others, the Kings expedition was ſtopped, that he could not meet *Montroſs*: for it had been agreed betwixt the King and *Montroſs*, that at the ſame time he from the South ſhould march Northward and the other from the North, to meet him, ſhould come Southward, that the Kings horſe joyned to his foot, might make a conſiderable Army in thoſe parts; but the Kings paſſage, though he tryed many wayes, was (as beforeſaid) ſtopped. *Montroſs*

mindful of his promiſe, broke out into the Southern parts of *Scotland*, with greater ſucceſs than could be hoped, having ſcarce 4000. Highlanders and Iriſh.

A place there was neer to *Kilſithe*, which the craggy Mountains and ſtraitened paſſages had made fit for ambuſhes, where *Montroſs* had ſeated himſelf, thither the Army of the State, confident of their number, whileſt unadviſedly they purſued the theeving Highlanders, fell into the cunningly-diſpoſed ambuſhes, and were cut off with a miſerable ſlaughter; above five thouſand were ſlain, and none almoſt eſcaped, but whom the wearied Conquerours had not ſtrength to kill, for cruel *Montroſs* ſpared none, crying out, *They had no need of Priſoners*

This overthrow of *Kilſithe* at one battle had utterly ruined the State of *Scotland*, if *David Leſley* (about a moneth after giving an abſolute overthrow to *Montroſs*) had not reſtored it; for after this ſo unexpected a defeat, the State of *Scotland* had no Army for a Reſerve, or Force to ſtop the paſſage of the Conquerour, to whom almoſt all their Towns preſently yeilded. The Papiſts and Malignants, and all neuters, with thoſe that had before diſſembled their affections, now joyned with him, the reſt were cut off; all the

chief

chief Nobility of the Covenanters were forced to fly into *England.*

A publike Faſt and Humiliation was kept by the Engliſh, for the calamity of their brethren of *Scotland* General *Fairfax*, and other of the chief Commanders wrote to *Leven*, *That they accounted the Calamity of* Scotland *to be their own; and that if their affairs at home would permit, and the Parliament would command it, they would earneſtly undertake that War, and venture their blouds as freely for the Scots as for the Engliſh, till the Enemies of the three Kingdoms were fully vanquiſhed.*

But *Montroſs* his cruell raign laſted not long, ſcarce a whole moneth; to vindicate *Scotland David Leſley* was ſufficient, who with his Horſe coming thither, at *Selkirk* gave *Montroſs* ſo total a defeat, that it ſeemed fully to recompence *Kilſithe*; the Victory was gotten in an hours ſpace, and (as it was obſerved by a *German* Writer) upon the ſame day that the Queen of *England* at *Paris* was ſinging *Te Deum Laudamus* for *Montroſs* his Victory at *Kilſithe.*

Thus was *Scotland* recovered before the King could come to *Montroſs*; which notwithſtanding the King ſoon after attempted, and marching Northward with a ſtrength not contemptible, having *Gerard* and *Langdale*

dale with him, came to *Routenheath*, his deſign was, that if he could not joyn with *Montroſs*, yet at the leaſt that he might raiſe the Siege of *Cheſter*, for the King was exceedingly ſolicitous for that City, as being the moſt convenient Haven to receive the tranſported Iriſh, whom he ſo long in vain expected. But that expedition proved moſt unfortunate to the King; for in a battel fought upon *Routenheath*, where *Pointz* was Commander of the Parliaments Army, the King was vanquiſhed, and eight hundred of his men ſlain.

Nor was the Lord *Digbies* expedition to *Montroſs* more fortunate, who in the following moneth, together with *Langdale*, having got together one thouſand Horſe, marched into the North to that purpoſe: for at *Sherburn* in *Yorkſhire* he was beaten, and put to flight by *Pointz*, *Copley*, and other parliamentarians; and afterwards at *Carliſle* he was defeated by *Brown* and *Leſley*; and having loſt all his forces, fled into the Iſle of *Man* to the Earl of *Derby*, from whence ſhortly after he paſſed into *Ireland*. When *Digby* was defeated at *Sherburn*, other ſecret Letters, and papers of the Kings were taken, whereby ſome deſigns of his were laid open, and ſome things more clearly diſcovered about his tranſactions with *Danes*, Iriſh, and others.

others: the Roialists at *Oxford* did much blame *Digby* his carlesness, that would carry such papers with him into a Battel, which were scarce safe enough in the strongest Fort, especially remembring what a stir was made about the Letters taken at *Naseby*.

Digby was now in *Ireland*, and (about the end of *December*) together with *Ormund*; treating about a peace with the Irish; when on a suddain the Kings affairs began to be endangered there, by divulging of *Glamorgans* secret transaction with the Irish Rebels, of which we spake before; *Ormund* and *Digby*, fearing least if this discovery should grow too general among the people, that all the former rumours would find credit; as namely, that the King was Author of the Irish Rebellion, and sought to confirm Popery, from whence a general revolt of all the Protestants might be feared; and although *Digby* thought *Glamorgan* to be an unadvised man, yet could not suppose him so foolish, as to undertake such a thing as that without any warrant at all. Therefore it was agreed betwixt them, that (for fear least when this discovery were grown more general, it might be too late to vindicate the King) *Digby* should presently accuse *Glamorgan* of Treason. But *Ormund* and *Digby* were both troubled p. 116.

bled with this fear, (becauſe at that time three thouſand Iriſh were promiſed to go over to the releif of *Cheſter*) leſt by this unſeaſonable vindication of the King, *Cheſter* might be loſt, for want of tranſportation of thoſe forces; but when they underſtood that, according to *Glamorgans* compact, thoſe Iriſh were not to go for *England*, before the King had made good the conditions which *Glamorgan* promiſed, and confirmed the peace; and while they were conſulting about this perplexed buſineſs, it was told them, That the Proteſtants of *Dublin*, upon that news were in a great mutiny, and the worſt was feared within few hours, unleſs the danger were ſpeedily prevented; *Digby* was enforced to make haſt, and accuſe *Glamorgan* (who was not at all diſmaid, knowing it was onely to deceive the people) of high Treaſon. *Glamorgan* therefore with great confidence and alacrity went to priſon, affirming, *That he did not fear to give account at* London, *or before the Parliament, of what he had done by the Kings warrant*: but it was wonder to ſee what a change in the Proteſtants at *Dublin* this feigned accuſation of high Treaſon ſuddainly made, and they who before murmured were now appeaſed,

But yet there remained another difficulty

to be extricated; *Ormond* was fearful, leſt the Iriſh, incenſed by this injury done to *Glamorgan*, ſhould ſuddenly fly to Arms, before the Kings forces were ready for them; to prevent that danger, he wrote to *Muskerry* concerning the reaſons of this action, and the extream neceſſity; and withall he ſeemed to approve the conditions for peace, as the Rebels had propoſed them, and ſent them to *Kilkenny* to be further diſcuſſed, with ſome dubiouſneſs of the event, this might ſpend time, until ſome new hopes of relieving *Cheſter*, or otherwiſe ſupplying the King, might ariſe.

But all theſe devices nothing availed the King, all his deſigns were fruſtrated, nor ever could he bring into *England* an Army either of *Iriſh* Rebels, *Lorraigners*, or *Danes*, (God providing better for that Kingdom) until at laſt all his forces every where were vanquiſhed, and wholly ſubdued by the Parliament; for in the following moneth, *February*, that very City of *Cheſter*, for which he hath been ſo ſolicitous, a City ſo often beſieged, and now long defended by *Biron*, came into the power of the Parliament; for *Biron* the Governour upon honourable terms delivered it up to *Brereton*.

Nor was the Kings ſide more lucky in any

County of *England*; for besides the whole West (that Winter, and the following Spring) by many field-Victories, and gaining of Towns, conquered by *Fairfax*; in the midland Counties also, in the North, and in *Wales*, in several battels all that time the Royalists were vanquished by eminent Commanders of the Parliament, such as were *Massey*, *Pointz*, *Brown*, *Rossiter*, *Mitton*, *Gell*, *Brereton*, *Laughtrn*, and others; and in the moneth of *March* (which was the last noted field-Victory) *Ashley* himself the Kings General was vanquished by *Morgan* in a memorable battel, and taken prisoner, with one thousand six hundred of his men. *Ashley*, when he was taken, spake aloud these words: *You have done your work, and wholly vanquished the Kings party, unless your own dissensions raise them again.*

At this time *Newark* the strongest Garrison of the Kings, which had long, and much infested the adjacent Countries, was straitly besieged by *Leven*, *Pointz*, and *Rossiter*; and General *Fairfax*, after reducing of the West, having provided what was fit, hastened to besiege *Oxford*, the head of the War. The King having now no Garrisons left, but *Banbury*, *Wallingford*, *Worcester*, *Ragland*, and *Pendennis*, all which in a short time after, were also

also taken, and could glory onely in this, that they had held out after *Oxford*.

The besieged *Newarkers*, though the Plague raged in the Town, and they began to want victuals, yet susteined themselves upon hopes of some dissentions that might arise between the English and the Scots.

For now the Scots began to complain of want of pay, of the neglect of Church-government and the Covenant: the parliament answered, that that Scottish Army in two years space had received above two hundred thousand pounds for pay, besides a vast sum of money, which they had by force extorted from the poor weeping Inhabitants of the Northern Counties; and besides that, their Army had not satisfied the expectation of the English, but had lyen idle in the best time of the year; if they were so precise in observation of the Covenant, why then, contrary to the Covenant, did the Scots put Garrisons into *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth* and *Carlisle*; neither was it just in the Scots to object any thing in the case of Religion, seeing the Parliament are now labouring in it, being a business which requires time, and mature deliberation.

From these jarrs the King hoped for some advantage to himself; and now *Oxford* began

gan to be blocked up by *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, and every day the coming of *Fairfax* himſelf, and a ſtraiter Siege of that City was expected; therefore before this ſhould happen, the King reſolved to go out of *Oxford*, and communicating his mind to ſome inward Councellors, above all other places, he pitched upon the Scottiſh Camp; to the Scots therefore, as they lay before *Newark*, the King ſent *Montruel* the French Ambaſſador, and himſelf ſoon after, as *Aſhburnhams* man, with a Cloak-back behind him, eſcaped unknown out of *Oxford*, and came to *Newark*.

From this enterprize the King was diſſwaded by ſome, who loved the ſafety of their Country, and entreated rather to deliver himſelf to *Fairfax*, which might in probability put an end to the War; but the King was obſtinate in his deſign, not doubting but that diſſentions daily growing between the two Nations, he ſhould be the more welcome to the Scots, ſafe from harm, and be able by this means either to make a peace upon his own conditions, or kindle a new war.

The King came firſt to *Montruels* houſe, and from thence to *Southwell*, into the Scottiſh Camp; the beſieged *Newarkers* underſtanding of the Kings coming, and being brought into great ſtraits, harkned to conditions,

ditions, and ſurrendred the Town.

The Scots ſeemed to be amazed at the Kings unexpected coming to them, and ſo ſignified the matter to the Engliſh Commiſſioners, then preſent with them upon the place. Letters were immediately written of it to *London*, and to *Edinburgh*, the Engliſh Parliament required the Scots to detain the King at *Southwell*, but they, contrary to that Order, carried him away to *Kelham*, where a greater part of their Army lay, and ſoon after, without expecting any further Orders from the Parliament of *England*, removed their Camp, marched Northward, and carried away the King with them to *Newcaſtle*.

The Scots excuſed their departure, becauſe *Newark* being yeilded, no work was left for them, but alleadged, *That as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, ſo he followed their Army, neither being entreated, nor forbidden by them*: but they ſeemed to haſten their departure, by reaſon of a rumor (whether true or falſly pretended) that *Cromwell* with all his Horſe was marching toward them.

But the Engliſh upon this, complained much both againſt the Scots and the King; To the Scots they objected the *breach of Covenant and Treaty*; To the King they imputed it *As a great obſtinacy and deſpight toward*

ward the Engliſh Nation, whom he had ſo long injured, that now in his low ebb, he ſhould in England, *leaving the Parliament of* England, *go to the Scots, their Mercenaries: if he deſired peace, why did he not embrace it, being offered upon ſuch conditions, as beſides his neceſſities, the common ſafety of his People invited him to? rather than go about to kindle new fire between the two confederate Nations.*

In the beginning of *May*, General *Fairfax* with his whole Army came within ſight of *Oxford*, and diſpoſing his quarters round about the City, ſummoned the Governour *Glenham* to ſurrender it; *Glenham* anſwered, that he would firſt ſend to the King, and when he knew his mind, would do what was fitting; this anſwer was not allowed. Nevertheleſs *Fairfax* conſidering with himſelf (which was alſo the opinion of all his Commanders) that it was likely to prove a long Siege, being a City excellent well fortified, and a ſtrong Garriſon in it, conſiſting of at leaſt five thouſand, moſt of them old ſouldiers, ſtored with proviſions, arms, and ammunition for a great while, yet was put into hope of ſooner obtaining it, by intelligence which he had gotten out of Letters, and by ſome Spies, that within they were much divided in their opinions; and the greater part (eſpecially

eſpecially thoſe of the Nobility) deſired it ſhould be ſurrendred, that they might have, while time was, honorable conditions. Therefore they began to Treat, and not onely between the Army and the City, but in Parliament at *London* it was debated, and at laſt decreed, That the beſieged ſhould rather have the beſt conditions, than that their precious Army ſhould be conſumed before ſo ſtrong a place, whilſt in the mean time many things might fall out ill to the Commonwealth.

But the chief reaſon of granting ſuch large conditions was, that the conquering Army, it being now Mid-ſummer, might be tranſported into *Ireland*, to vindicate that afflicted Country againſt the barbarous and bloudy Rebels, but that ſo pious an intention of the Parliament was quite fruſtrated by the Kings going to the Scots, of whom at that time there were ſome jealouſies, and that the King went to the Scots for that very purpoſe, it was believed by Letters (which were intercepted afterward) written to *Ormond*, before he went out of *Oxford*, *We hope that this deſign of ours, though it may ſeem dangerous to our perſon, will prove advantagious for* Ireland, *in hindering the Rebels* (meaning the Parliament) *from tranſporting any forces into that Kingdom.*

Thus *Oxford* was ſurrendred; and at the appointed day all the ſouldiers of that Garriſon marched away by *Fairfax* his Army, with great quiet and modeſty on both ſides. The Duke of *York* was honorably conducted to *London*, where two of the Kings children remained; thither alſo went all the Noble men, nor was it denied to any of the Beſieged to go to *London*: but the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, being commanded to go out of *England*, prepared for their departure.

The great Seal of *England*, with other Enſigns of Majeſty, were layed up in the Library, which afterward carried to *London*, was by the command of Parliament (for the Parliament, when the great Seal three years before was carried away to the King, had made a new one) broken in pieces, together with the other ſmaller Seals.

Prince *Charles* about that time, diſtruſting the condition of his ſide, fled from *Silly*, with a few of his inward Counſellors, and went to *Jerſey*, that from thence he might paſs into *France* to the Queen his Mother. While the Prince remained in *Jerſey*, the Commiſſioners both of *England* and *Scotland* intreated the King that the Prince his Son might continue within his Dominions, leſt if he ſhould go into *France*, it might be inconvenient at this time,

and

and an obſtruction to the deſired peace; but the King promiſing them that he would think of it, wrote in the mean time this ſhort letter to the Prince.

CHarles, *I write to you onely that you ſhould know where I am, and that I am in health, not to direct you at this time in any thing; for what I would have you do, I have already written to your mother, to whom I would have you obedient in all things, except Religion (about which I know ſhe will not trouble you, and go no whither without her, or my Command; write often to me, God bleſs you:*

Your loving Father, C. R.

This Letter was intercepted going from *Newcaſtle* to *Jerſey* in a ſmall Veſſel, and read in Parliament, to their great grief.

Soon after the ſurrender of *Oxford*, followed the end of this fierce War, for *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis*, and *Ragland*, yeilded alſo to the Conquerors. Peace now ſeemed to be reſtored to *England*, but they had no ſecurity; for the Parliament (having vanquiſhed the common Enemy) were grievouſly troubled with Factions among themſelves, and divided under the unhappy names of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; nor was

it onely in thoſe things which concerned Church-government, but in the tranſaction of almoſt all other buſineſſes, they debate fiercely, and were divided in their Votes.

The ſame difference (namely of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*) troubled not onely the Parliament Houſe, but the City, the Country, and ſome of the Camps, ſeeming a thing that threatned danger; and the Parliament feared that *Maſſey*'s forces (which had deſerved very well of the Common-wealth) being quartered about the *Devizes*, might under that name make a Mutiny: wherefore Generall *Fairfax* was ſent from *Oxford* into the Weſt to disband (the War being ended) thoſe forces of *Maſſey*, being two thouſand five hundred horſe, which thing was quietly done within eight dayes, and all thoſe Souldiers with ready obedience left their Colours, although they were not fully paid at that time; for which *Maſſey* (as for other things) was much commended in being careful, by adviſing his ſouldiers, that this buſineſs without any difficulty ſhould be ſo ended.

The War being now quite finiſhed, *Fairfax*, the Victorious Preſerver of the *Engliſh* Parliament, returned to *London*, about the midſt of *November*. All good men longed to

ſee

ſee that great Souldier, whom they could not but admire, by whoſe valour they were delivered from the worſt of evils, and were now in expectation of an happy peace.

The next day after he came to *London*; That he might ſee the gratitude of the Parliament, the Houſe of Peers ſent their Speaker, *Mancheſter*, whom the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, and many other Nobles accompanied; who congratulated his return, and gave him great thanks for his moſt faithful and happy ſervices to the Commonwealth.

When the Lords were gone, *Lenthal*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons with almoſt 300. Members of that Houſe, came to congratulate the General, to whom *Lenthal* made a ſpeech, wherein he diſcourſed of the greatneſs of his actions, extolling them by examples of the moſt great and famous *Heroes* of ancient times. *You* (ſaid he) *noble General ſhall all poſterity admire and honour, and the people of* England, *ſince they can give you no thanks equal to your merits, do freely confeſs themſelves for ever indebted to you, as the happy inſtrument of God, and finiſher of our Wars with incredible ſucceſs*: To which the modeſt *Fairfax* made a ſhort reply, *Acknowledging himſelf unworthy of ſo great an honour, and*

giving moſt humble thanks to the Parliament, accounting it his greateſt happineſs in this world to be made by God inſtrumental for the good of his Country.

But the General ſtaid not long at *London*, being preſently after ſent to carry the money for the Scots into the North; of which we ſhall ſpeak afterwards; in the mean time we will return to the King, and Scots.

On the ſixth of *May*, 1646. long before the ſurrender of *Oxford*; when the Parliament of *England* underſtood that the King was with the Scots, when the Scots alſo had diſobeyed their Orders; which were, *That they ſhould detain the King at* Southwel, *and that* Aſhburnham, *with the reſt of his followers, ſhould be ſent to* London, (of which the Scots obeyed neither, letting *Aſhburnham* and the reſt eſcape, and carrying the King into the North) the Parliament, after a long debate of both Houſes, at laſt Voted, *That the perſon of the King ſhould be diſpoſed of by the authority of both Houſes of the Parliament of* England.

But the *Scots* excuſing themſelves, and denying to deliver up the King, a great diſſention hapned between the two Nations, which did much animate the Royaliſts, and ſeemed dangerous to the two Kingdoms. Many complaints were made upon this occaſion, and many

many ſharp invective Writings on both ſides for the ſpace of divers moneths.

The Scots alleaged, that he was noleſs King of *Scotland* than of *England*; and that therefore their Kingdom had ſome right to the diſpoſing of him; the Engliſh affirmed, that his perſon was to be diſpoſed by the authority of that Kingdom in which he then was; but that they ſet forth, as a very ſtrange thing, *that a Scottiſh Army, paid by the Parliament of* England, *and which by the Compact of both Kingdoms, was to be governed by Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms upon the place, ſhould notwithſtanding receive the King of* England, *without the conſent or knowledge of the Engliſh Commiſſioners, and carry him away to* Newcaſtle, *a Town of* England, *and there keep him without the conſent of the Parliament of* England.

In the midſt of theſe great diſſentions: which notwithſtanding the prudence of ſome men did ſo well moderate (whileſt the common enemy and factious ſpirits ſought to aggravate them) that they proved not pernitious to the Kingdoms, the main buſineſs, and things neceſſary for the *Common good* were unanimouſly and friendly tranſacted by the two Nations: and among other things, concerning the ſending of propoſitions to the

King

King *for a firm and well grounded peace*, it was debated, and at laſt agreed, that nineteen Propoſitions (ſo many there were) ſhould be ſent to *Newcaſtle*, to the King; which becauſe they are long, and fully recited in a larger Hiſtory, I will not relate in this Epitome.

Theſe Propoſitions were ſent away to the King upon the fifteenth day of *July* one thouſand ſix hundred forty ſix, and preſented to his hands at *Newcaſtle* by the Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament, namely, the Earl of *Pembrooke*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Mountague* of the Peers; and ſix of the Houſe of Commons; the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* being preſent, and conſenting to them.

And that the King might conceive himſelf dealt withal like a King, not a vanquiſhed man, and a captive, this preface by the conſent of Parliaments of both Kingdoms, was ſet before the Propoſitions.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE *the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of* England, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdom of* England *and* Ireland; *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the name, and*

on

on the behalf of the Kingdom of Scotland, *do humbly preſent unto your Majeſty the humble deſires and propoſitions for a ſafe and well grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes reſpectively; unto which we do pray your Majeſties aſſent: and that they, and all ſuch Bills as ſhall be tendred to your Majeſty in purſuance of them, or any of them, may be eſtabliſhed, and enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament, by your Majeſties Royal Aſſent, in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpectively.*

The Lords and Commons, Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, ſtaid long with the King at *Newcaſtle*, humbly entreating him, that he would vouchſafe to ſign and eſtabliſh thoſe propoſitions being not much higher than thoſe, which had been offered to his Majeſty at *Uxbridge*, when the chance of War was yet doubtful; the ſame thing did the Commiſſioners of the Parliament in *Scotland* humbly entreat; and the like did others daily, who came with renewed ſupplications to that end from the Parliament ſitting at *Edenburgh*.

But in vain were the ſupplications of both Kingdoms; the King perſiſted obſtinately in denial of his Aſſent; but daily he ſeemed to take exceptions at ſome particulars,

whereby

whereby time was delayed for ſome moneths, and the affairs of both Kingdoms much retarded, which happened at an unſeaſonable time, when not onely the diſſentions between the two Nations about Garriſons, mony, and other things were juſtly feared, but alſo in the Parliament of *England*, and City of *London*, the factions then encreaſing between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, from whence the common enemy began to ſwell with hopes not improbable, and this perchance was the cauſe of the Kings delay.

But thoſe hopes of the enemy ſoon vaniſhed, and this very averſneſs of the King did in ſome meaſure compoſe the diſſentions of the Parliaments; inſomuch as they began unanimouſly to conſult, how they might ſettle the affairs of both Kingdoms (ſince it could not otherwiſe be) without the King; Therefore it was debated in the Parliament of *England*, to pay the Scots for their aſſiſtance in this War, and at laſt agreed that the Scots ſhould receive four hundred thouſand pounds; half of that ſum, namely, two hundred thouſand pounds was to be paid in preſent, upon receipt of which, the Scots were to deliver up *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, and *Newcaſtle* to the Parliament of *England*, according to the compact. It was alſo debated, though

with

with much time and difficulty, where the Kings perſon ſhould be diſpoſed, in caſe he did abſolutely and utterly deny his Aſſent to the Propoſitions; at which meeting it was freely granted by the Parliament to the Scots, that they might carry the King (if they pleaſed) to *Edenburgh*; but that the Scots refuſed, affirming, that by his preſence in an unſetled Kingdom, new commotions might ariſe; they rather deſired (which was alſo the Kings deſire) that he might be carried into the Southern parts of *England*, and live in ſome of his Palaces neer *London*, which they thought more convenient for treating of a peace, as if *England* were not in the ſame danger by his preſence. So that in all that whole debate they ſeemed to contend, not who ſhould have the King, but who ſhould not have him.

Whileſt theſe things were tranſacting, and the King daily was humbly entreated by both Kingdoms to grant his Aſſent to theſe Propoſitions, the Earl of *Loudon*, Chancellour of Scotland, about the end of *Auguſt*, when the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms were preſent, made an Oration to the King, which becauſe it opens the buſineſs in ſome meaſure, ſhall be recited.

Your

YOur Majesty was pleased on Monday *last to call the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *and imparting the Propositions to them, to promise that you would likewise impart your Answer before you sent it; but so short is the Commissioners prefixed time, and of so great moment (either to the safety or ruine of your Crown and Kingdoms) is your Majesties Answer, that we should be wanting both to God, and our own trust, if we should not represent to your Majesty how necessary it is (in this conjuncture of time) That you grant your assent to these Propositions; and what an incurable malady, and sudden ruine must needs follow upon your denial. I shall begin with the disease, and speak after of the remedy: The differences betwixt your Majesty and Parliament (known better to no man than your self) are at this time so high, that (after so many bloudy Battels) no composure can be made, nor a more certain ruine avoided, without a present pacification. The Parliament are in possession of your Navy, of all the Towns, Castles and Forts of* England; *they enjoy besides Sequestrations, your Revenue. Soldiers and monies are raised by their Authority, and after so many Victories and Successes, they have a standing strong Army, who, for their strength, are able to act any thing in Church or Commonwealth at their own pleasure. Besides there are*

some

some so fearful, others so unwilling to submit to your Majesty, that they desire neither your self, nor any of your Issue to raign over them. The People weary of War, and groaning under taxes, though they desire Peace, yet are so much against the pulling down of Monarchy (under which they have long flourished) that they which are weary of your Government; dare not go about to throw it off, untill they have (once at least) offered Propositions of Peace to your Majesty, lest the Vulgar (without whose concurrence they cannot perfect the Work) should fall from them. Therefore when the whole People, weary of War, desire security from pressures, and arbitrary rule: the most Honourable Houses of Parliament have consented to offer these Propositions to your Majesty, without which the greater part of the people do suppose the Kingdom can neither enjoy Peace nor Safety; therefore your Majesties friends, and the Commissioners of Scotland, *though not without some reluctation, were forced to consent to the sending of these Propositions (for else none had been sent) or else incur the publick hatred, as enemies to peace. Now Sir if your Majesty (which God forbid) should deny to sign these Propositions, you would loose all your friends, both City and Country; and all* England *as one man would rise up against you; it*

may

may then be feared (all hope of reconciliation being taken away) that they may cite you, depose you, and set up another Government. Moreover they will require of us to deliver your Majesty to them, to restore their Garrisons Towns, and carry our Army out of England. *Lastly, if your Majesty persist in denying, both Kingdoms will be compelled to agree together for their mutual safety, to settle Religion and peace without you, which (to our unspeakable grief) would ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. But if your Majesty shall despise the counsel of us (who wish nothing more upon earth than the establishing of your Majesties Throne) and by obstinacy loose* England, *your Majesty will not be suffered to enter* Scotland, *and ruine that. Sir, We have laid our hands upon our hearts, we have prayed to God to direct us, and have seriously considered of the remedy for these mischiefs, but we can find nothing else (as the case now stands) which can preserve your Crown and Kingdoms, then that your Majesty should sign these Propositions; in some things (we confess) they are higher than we (if our wish might have gone) would have made them; but seeing that no other way is left to cure the Kingdoms wounds, and consolidate the ruptures between your Majesty and the Parliament: We do in all humility and loyalty advise your Majesty,*

Majesty, that out of your gratious goodness, you would assent to them, as being the onely remedy left to procure a firm and happy peace, from whence also many happinesses will accrue to you, &c.

But neither this Oration of *Louden*, nor all the endeavours of both Parliaments could alter the Kings mind; yet did not the Commissioners give over their hopes, but persisted in intreating; so that many moneths were spent in this business, and the time consumed till the midst of Winter, in which space they could not perswade the King to hear any Ministers of the Synod preach before him, being constant onely to his own Chaplains.

Upon which they began to endeavour that amity might be preserved between the two Nations, and that the two Kingdoms (things standing as they did) might be peaceably setled without the King.

Therefore after some debate between the Parliament of *England*, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, they at the last agreed upon the aforesaid sum, namely, that two hundred thousand pounds should be forthwith paid to the Scots; which mony being told out, was by General *Fairfax*, with part of his Forces conveyed out of *London*, who afterwards

committed the business to Major General *Skippon*. He with six Regiments marched away in the midst of Winter, and in *January* came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine* with the mony.

The Scots, when they had received their mony, according to the compact, delivered up the English Garrisons, *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Newcastle* into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home into *Scotland*; they delivered also the King to the English Commissioners to be carried into the South, Who was received with great respect and honour by the Earls of *Pembrook*, and *Denbigh*, and the rest of the Parliament Commissioners and by them waited on with great observance, and an honourable guard to his Palace of *Holmby* in Northhampton-shire. These things were done in the Moneth of *February* at which time the Earl of *Stanford*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Ashhurst* of the House of Commons were sent Commissioners by the Parliament into *Scotland*, that at *Edenburgh* they might treat with the Scottish Parliament about the Common Affairs.

Though the Kings party, which had fought against their Parliament and Liberties, were absolutely subdued, yet a quiet liberty and security could not be suddenly obtained by the victory. For the Civil War being ended differ-

diſſention more than Civil aroſe among the Conquerors, which ſeemed therefore more ſad to all good men, becauſe it was between thoſe, who before had with moſt united affections and deſires, thrown their lives and fortunes into the hazard againſt a common Enemy, whom the ſame cauſe, the ſame fervour of reforming Religion, and reſtoring liberty, and the ſame prayers had linked together in the neareſt bond of conſcience.

By this diviſion, under the names of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, ſtill encreaſing, the minds of men began beyond all meaſure to be embittered againſt each other; one ſide complained, that the Covenant was broken; the other, that it was not rightly enterpreted by them, nor ſo, as that it could any way be a vindication of the cauſe undertaken, or the publike Safety; on both ſides were men of great reputation.

Yet did they not at firſt ſo far diſſent, but that both ſides ſeemed forward to vindicate the Common cauſe againſt the Kings party, called Malignants. It muſt be a longer time, that muſt by degrees ſo far work upon the conſciences of that ſide, which ſeemed weakeſt, as to make them cleave to the Malignants for a prop. The Malignants were ready to joyn with either ſide, that they might mine

both. They themselves (though disarmed) being now the greatest number, especially by reason of the unconstancy of many men, either upon particular grievances, or the burden of Taxations. A great number of the Citizens of *London*, not of the meanest, but highest rank, had revolted from their former principles; insomuch as that City (all the Kings Garrisons being by *Fairfax* his bloudless Victories emptied thither) became to be of that condition, as that the Parliament, without the Armies help, could not safely sit there. These dissentions of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* (because the motives and intentions of men are not enough known) our purpose is to touch with more brevity than the actions of open War, and plain hostility, though they also are here shortly mentioned.

It were a work of too much length and difficulty, to recite how many Calumnies were raised by the other faction against the Army (before so much admired) as maintainers of the Independent faction. How divers Petitions were drawn up, and sub-scriptions eagerly sought in the County of *Essex*, against this Army, which was then quartered about *Walden*, in the moneth of *April*. And in the Parliament it self it was so far, and in that manner debated concerning disbanding of

that

that Army; that they (being now taught to value their own merits) conceived themselves much injured; and in the moneth of *May* presented a Petition to their General. In which they desire to be satisfied, not onely for their due pay, as Souldiers, but in things concerning (belonging to them as free born sons of the Nation) the publike liberties, which they had fought for. Of which Petition great complaint was made by those of the other Faction. These and some other Alterations wrought at last so far, as that the Souldiers, about the beginning of *June* (upon what design, or what jealousies I leave to Judge) took away the King from *Holmby*, out of the Parliament-Commissioners hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. So that his person was to be in some Town, or Palace neer to their Quarter. When this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament (and their order sent to the General.)

1. *That the King should reside at* Richmond.
2. *That he should be attended by the same persons that he was at* Holmby.
3. *That* Rossiters *Regiment should guard him.*

But the next day from the General, and the Councel of Officers, was brought to the

Parliament an Impeachment againſt eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons, *viz.* (honoured names many of them) *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Waller*, *Glyn*, *Maſſey*, *Maynard*, *Lewis*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Harley*, and *Nichols*. Wherein divers things were objected concerning hindering the Releif of *Ireland*, obſtructing Juſtice, and acting ſomewhat againſt the Army, and the Laws of *England*. The Impeached Members declared themſelves ready to anſwer to any crime that could be objected againſt them. But another requeſt came from the Army, that thoſe Impeached Members, untill they had brought in their anſwer, might be ſecluded from their Seats in Parliament. This at the firſt was not granted, as a thing judged to be too high, and too much againſt the priviledge of Parliament. But when the Army iterated their deſire, thoſe accuſed Members, by leave of the Parliament, made a voluntary Seceſſion for ſix moneths. Concerning that Order of Parliament, that the King ſhould go to *Richmond*, the General deſired to be excuſed, intreating them not to command that, untill things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no Reſidence for the King nearer to *London*, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be. After which the King w

conveied to *Roiston*, thence to *Hatfield*, no long after to *Causum*, while the Army quartered at *Reading*. From whence, when the General with his Army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedfords* House neer *Ouborn*.

About that time was rumoured a very dangerous conspiracy in *London*, of Citizens, Apprentices, and others against the Army, namely, that many Citizens, and Apprentices, and other people had privately listed themselves to make a Force against the Army. The General hearing this, certified the Cities Commissioners, who were then with him at the Head-quarters of it. Who made hast to *London*, to examine and quiet those troubles; but at that time between the two embittered Factions, nothing but suspitions and tumults could be. These Jealousies daily encreasing, on *July* 22. the Parliament made an Order to change that *Militia* of the City, which had been established upon the fourth of *May*, and put others, which were better affected to the Army, in their rooms. Upon which Order, the Citizens of that faction were wonderfully incensed, and petitioned the House on the twenty six of *July*, which being read, seemed rather a command than a petition. This was carried, and followed by a dissolute multitude

of Citizens, Apprentises, and other unruly persons, who pressed to the very doors of the Parliament, and cried out in a threatning way, that before the House rise, they must order according to their Petition; and so far did their violence prevail, that they extorted an Order for the re-establishing of the former *Militia*. But not content with that, when the House was rising, they took the Speaker, and rudely thrust him again into his chair, detaining both him, and the rest of the Members there, (an unheard of violation of Parliament!) until they enforced from them another Order, which was, *That the King should come to* London.

After this rude violation, the Houses adjourned until *Fryday* next, which was the thirtieth of *July*. Upon which day, both the Speakers being absent, (for they with the greatest part of the Members had left *London*, and withdrawn themselves to the Army) new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon* and Mr. *Henry Pelham* a Barrester, by whom Orders were made that day:

1. *That the King should come to* London.

2. *That the Militia of* London *should be authorized to raise Forces for defence of the City.*

3. *Power was given to the same Militia to choose a General for those Forces.*

It was likewiſe Ordered, that the aforeſaid eleven Members, Impeached by the Army, ſhould return to their ſeats in Parliament.

The Citizens armed with theſe Orders, preſently proceed to raiſing of Forces, of which they Elected *Maſſey* to be their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons, who had left *London*, conſulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, *That all Acts and Decrees, that had paſſed on the* 26. *of* July, *and ſince, ſhould be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Councel of the Army. It was likewiſe Decreed, that the General with his Army ſhould march to* London.

But when the Citizens heard of the Armies approach, their ſtomacks being ſomewhat abated, and their opinions ſo much divided in Common-Councel, that it appeared impoſſible for them ſuddenly to raiſe any forces to oppoſe the Army; they ſent to the General for a Pacification, which (by the conſent of the Members of parliament then with him) was granted to them upon theſe conditions:

1. *That they ſhould diſſert the Parliament now ſitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members.*

2. *That*

2. *That they ſhould recall their Declaration lately divulged.*

3. *They ſhould relinquiſh their preſent Militia.*

4. *They ſhould deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London.

5. *They ſhould disband all the Forces they had raiſed.*

And do all things elſe which were neceſſary for the publick tranquillity. All which things none of them daring to deny, were preſently ratified.

On the ſixt day of *Auguſt* the General with his Army came to *Weſtminſter*, and with him the Speakers of both Houſes, together with the reſt of the Lords and Commons, whom he reſtored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers, in the name of the whole Parliament, gave thanks to the General; they made him Commander of all the Forces in *England*, and in *Wales*, and Conſtable of the Tower of *London*: a moneths pay was likewiſe given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, and the reſt of the Commanders, with the whole Army, marched through *London*, from the Weſtern part thereof to the Tower, where ſome Commands were changed, and the *Militia* otherwiſe

wiſe ſetled. Then leaſt the City ſhould ſwell with too much power, her *Militia* by Order of Parliament was divided, and Authority given to *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamblets* about the Tower, to exerciſe and command their own *Militiaes*.

Thus was the *Preſbyterian* faction depreſſed; and the Parliament thus reſtored, were very intent upon the buſineſs of annulling all thoſe Acts, which in their abſence, and by that tumultuous violence had been made, and in puniſhing the Authors of thoſe Seditions.

FINIS.

Book III.

A ſhort mention of the Originall and Progreſs of the Second War.

THe Parliament reſtored, the *Militia* of *London* ſetled, and the other Commands fitly diſpoſed, the General *Fairfax* marched out of *London*, and quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, onely leaving ſome Regiments about *White-Hall* and the *Mews* to guard the Parliament, his Head-Quarters being at *Putney*; the King about the middle of *Auguſt* was brought to the moſt ſtately of all his Palaces, *Hampton Court*.

While the King remained at *Hampton Court*, he ſeemed not at all a reſtrained man, but a Prince living in the ſplendor of a Court, ſo freely to his preſence were all ſorts of people admitted, to kiſs his hands, and do all obeyſances whatſoever. None were forbidden to wait upon him. Nor did the people from *London* onely, and the adjacent Towns reſort

reſort to the King, but his Servants alſo from beyond the Seas, even thoſe, who by Order of Parliament had been forbidden, and Voted Delinquents, ſuch as *Aſhburnham*, *Barkley*, and the reſt, who now by the permiſſion of the Army, had ſafe recourſe to him. But upon what reaſons, or deſign this permiſſion was, many wondred.

Stirred up by theſe examples (if not ſent for by the King) the Lords formerly of his Councel at *Oxford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, with the Lord *Seymor*, about the beginning of *October* came to the King, as if to conſult and give their advice to him concerning the Propoſitions of Parliament, or other buſineſs. The Parliament were diſpleaſed at this thing; neither would the Army long ſuffer it, conſidering that the King had not yet in any thing at all given ſatisfaction to the Parliament. Whereupon thoſe Lords being told of it, after two daies ſtay at *Hampton Court*, returned to their own houſes.

On the ſeventh day of *September*, Propoſitions agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament (the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring alſo) were ſent to the King at *Hampton Court*. To which they did humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that he would

give

give his anſwer within ſix dayes. The Commiſſioners appointed for this buſineſs, of the Parliament of *England*, were the Earl of *Pembrook*, Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major General *Brown*. For the Kindom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Louderdale*, & Sir *Charls Erskins*.

The King, although he denied (as before) to grant the Propoſitions, wrote notwithſtanding an Anſwer to the Parliament, in which he ſayes, That to ſome things he can aſſent, namely, about eſtabliſhing Presbytery for 3 years, about granting the *Militia*, as it was before offered to him. But in the other things he muſt altogether diſſent. He affirms, that he could rather hearken to the Propoſals of the Army, (for the Army had lately publiſhed ſome Propoſals, in the manner of the Parliament Propoſitions, about ſetling the peace of the Kingdom) and deſired the Parliament that they would conſider of thoſe Propoſals.

The Parliament, not yet deterred by theſe often denials of the King, fell upon debate about making Propoſitions to him again. When the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* reſiding at *London* (after that *Louden* and *Lanerick*, who came newly out of *Scotland*, had talked privately with the King at *Hampton Court*)

Court) ſent Letters to the Parliament, in which they require that the King may come to *London*, and then perſonally treat with the Parliament about the things controverted; thoſe very Scots, who not long before, both in their Orations and Letters, *Denied it to be juſt, or convenient for the Common-wealth, that the King, before he had given ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the People, ſhould be admitted to* London; *or to any Perſonal Treaty with the Parliament.* Thoſe very Scots, who denyed to receive the King into *Scotland*, for fear he might raiſe commotions in their Country, would now have him brought to *London*, a City filled with Malignants, and fit for any Tumults, in which the Parliament it ſelf, without the guard of an Army, could not ſafely ſit. That which moved them to this demand (as they alleaged) was becauſe the King had been taken from *Holmby* againſt his will, and without the conſent of Parliament, by the violence of Souldiers, and ſtill remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom, which was thought fit for a King, treating about a buſineſs of ſo great moment.

At the end of their Epiſtle they ſeem content that he may ſtay (if *London* be denied) at *Hampton Court*, ſo he be not under the power of the Army, but in ſuch a condition, as that the

the Commissioners of both Parliaments may have a free recourse to him. But the Parliament were again framing Propositions (with some alterations) to be sent to the King; when lo, on a sudden they were strucken with an unexpected Message, That the King was privily fled out of *Hampton Court*: To which purpose Letters came about midnight from *Cromwel* to the Speaker. For on the twelfth day of *November*, whilest the Commissioners of Parliament, and Colonel *Whaley*, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King should come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondered at his long stay; at last about nine of the clock, some of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his cloak left there, and a letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners, to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament; in which letter, after he had discoursed somewhat about captivity and the sweetness of liberty, he protested, as before God, that he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself, to disturb the publike peace, or any treaty tending to the establishment thereof: but onely to preserve his own safety, against which he understood there was a treasonable Conspiracy. But toward the end of his Letter, he useth these words;

Now

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement: so I take God to witness, that the publick Peace is no less before mine eyes. And I can finde no better way to expreſs this my profession, (I know not what a wiſer man may do) then by deſiring and urging that all chief intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction; as for example, The Army (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to conſent) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, and have an Act of Oblivion, or Indempnity (which ſhould extend to the reſt of all my Subjects) and that all their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawful and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and ſafety, and I ſhall inſtantly break thorow this cloud of retirement, and ſhew my ſelf ready to be Pater Patriæ.

Charles Rex.

But the Parliament being much at firſt troubled with this unexpected news of the King's departure, at laſt, leſt the Kingdomes peace ſhould thereby be diſturbed, they ordered, that men of fidelity ſhould be ſpeedily

ſent to all the Sea-ports, leſt the King ſhould paſs into any Forreign Country. And when tidings (though falſe) were brought unto them, that the King was concealed within the City of *London*, they ordered, *That if any man ſhould cloſely detain the King's Perſon, and not reveal it to the Parliament, he ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his eſtate and life.*

This Cloud ſoon diſſolved, and the Parliament were informed by Col. *Hammond* (who was newly by conſent of both Houſes, made Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*) that the King was come into that Iſland, and had delivered himſelf into his protection. *Hammond* ſignified himſelf to be ready to obey the Parliament-commands in all things. The Parliament commending *Hammond*, did alſo command him with all diligence to guard the King; but to wait upon him with all reſpect and honour; promiſing, that they would take care that proviſions of every kinde ſhould not be wanting, nor money to defray the King's expences.

While the Parliament were again deliberating about Propoſitions to be ſent to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, a Letter of great length from the King, ſuperſcribed, To the Speaker of the Lords Houſe, to be communicated alſo to the Houſe of Commons, was read

read upon the eighteenth day of *November*. In which he delivered his Senſe and Opinion concerning many things contained in the former Propoſitions, eſpecially concerning the abolition of Epiſcopacy; he diſputed out of the dictates of his conſcience much, and gave touches alſo of the other matters. Of all which he hoped that he ſhould ſatisfie the Parliament with his reaſons, if he might perſonally treat with them. Therefore he earneſtly deſired to be admitted with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, to treat perſonally at *London*: the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, with great vehemence, alſo preſſed, that this deſire of the King might be granted.

The Parliament weighing theſe things, leſt they ſhould betray themſelves and friends by admitting of a perſonal Treaty with the King in *London*, ſo Malignant a City, before he had given any ſatisfaction or ſecurity, (which was before the Scots Opinion) after ſo many miſchiefs done to the Commonwealth, reſolved upon a middle way.

Therefore after a long debate on the twenty ſixth of *November*, they concluded that four Propoſitions, being drawn up into the form of Acts, ſhould be ſent to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, to ſign; which when he had ſigned, he ſhould be admitted to a perſonal Treaty at

London; that his Majeſty giving the Kingdom ſecurity by paſſing theſe four Propoſitions, there may be a perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, for paſſing the reſt of the Propoſitions. The four were theſe.

1. *That a Bill be paſſed into an Act by his Majeſty, for ſetling of the* Militia *of the Kingdom.*

2. *That a Bill be paſſed for his Majeſties calling in of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, and thoſe who have adhered to them.*

3. *For paſſing an Act, that thoſe Lords who were made after the Great Seal was carried to* Oxford, *may be made uncapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby.*

4. *That power may be given to the two Houſes of Parliament, to adjourn, as the two Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit.*

The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* would in no wiſe give their conſent that theſe four Bills ſhould be ſent to the King, before he treated at *London*; therefore, in a very long Declaration they proteſted againſt it. Notwithſtanding that, the Bills were ſent by Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament, and on the twenty fourth of *December* preſented to the King at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle. But the King underſtanding the minde of the Scots, and

and the factions in *London*, abſolutely refuſed to ſign thoſe Propoſitions; and the Comiſſioners with this denial returned to *London*.

On the third of *January* the Houſe of Commons debated of this denial of the King: the diſpute was ſharp, vehement, and high about the State and Government of the Commonwealth; and many plain Speeches made of the King's obſtinate averſneſs, and the peoples too long patience; it was there affirmed, that the King by this denial had denied his protection to the people of *England*, for which onely ſubjection is due from them; that one being taken away, the other falls to the ground. That it is very unjuſt and abſurd, that the Parliament (having ſo often tried the King's affections, ſhould now betray to an implacable Enemy, both themſelves and all thoſe friends, who in a moſt juſt cauſe had valiantly adventured their lives and fortune: that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the ſafety of themſelves and their friends, and ſettle the Commonwealth (ſince otherwiſe it could not be) without the King.

Therefore on the 17 of *January*, a Declaration and Votes paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, in this manner.

The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to his Majesty for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raised by him against the Parliament and Kingdom, having lately sent four Bills to his Majesty, which did contain onely matter of safety, and security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the composure of other differences to a personal Treaty with his Majesty; and having received an absolute Negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours, speedily to settle the present Government in such a way, as may bring the greatest security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in Order thereunto, and that the Houses may receive no delay nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these Resolutions, and passed these Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, That they will make no further Addresses or Applications to the King.

Resolved, &c. *By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That no Application or Address be made to the King by any Person whatsoever, without the leave of both Houses.*

Re-

Reſolved, &c. *By the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the penalty of High Treaſon.*

Reſolved, &c. *That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King: and do enjoyn, That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other Perſon.*

Within few dayes after theſe Votes of Parliament were publiſhed, a Declaration of the General, and general Councel of the Army, (their Head-Quarters being then at *Windſor*) was made and humbly preſented to the Parliament; for which Declaration thanks were returned from the Parliament to the General, and Councel of the Army: which take in the full expreſſion.

A Declaration from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the General Councel of the Army, of their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament in their proceedings concerning the King.

NOtwithstanding *the high violations of the Kingdoms Rights and Liberties, and the indeavours to swallow up the whole interest of the Kingdom into the power and will of a King, which the present King's Reign hath afforded; we have observed, that the Parliament was (through his necessities) and against his declared intentions to the contrary, called, but in a condition of vindicating the Kingdom in those things, hath yet enacted with that tenderness towards the King, (as to any thing of right that might be in him, or duty towards him) as that in the Protestation, Covenant, and many Declarations published by them; that have held forth a careful regard to the preservation of the King's person, and just rights, with, and in the preservation and vindication of the publick interests, and safety of the Kingdom, and by the whole service of their actions, and their many-fold humble Addresses to him, for the preservation and settlement of all, they have, we conceive, abundantly demonstrated the reality and innocency of their intentions towards him: in all which, we have still understood the sence and inter-*

intention to be no other, then that the preservation of the King's person and particular rights, should be so endeavoured, as it might be consistent with, and not destructive to, those great and more obliging publick interests of Religion, and the Rights, Liberties, and safety of the Kingdom; and not otherwise.

And accordingly, in the late Declarations and Papers, that have occasionally past from this Army, as to our desires of settlement to the Kingdom, we have expressed our real wishes, that if the King would in things necessary, and essential to the clearing, setling, and securing of those publick interests, give his concurrence to put them past future disputes, then his Rights should be considered and setled, so far as might be consistent with those superior interests of the publick, and the security thereof for future.

And that by an Address to the King upon things so purely essential to those publick ends, it might once more come to a clear trial, whether we could, with the preservation of the King's person, and in particular interests, have a security to the other, hath been our earnest desire, our great expectation, and our endeavour, that we and others might be in a patient waiting for such an issue.

Now in the Parliaments last Addresses to the King, we finde they have insisted onely upon some few things, so essential to that interest of the King-

dom,

dom, which they have hitherto engaged for; as that without betraying the safety of the Kingdom, and themselves, and all that engaged with them in that cause, without denying that, which God in the issue of the war, hath been such a Testimony unto, they could not go lower, and (those things granted) they have offered to treat for all the rest.

Thus we account that great business of a settlement to the Kingdom, and security to the publick interest thereof, by, and with, the King's Concurrence, to be brought unto so clear a trial, as that (upon the King's denial of those things) we can see no further hopes of settlement or security that way.

And therefore understanding, that upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many other, the Honourable House of Commons, by several Votes upon munday last, have resolved not to make any further address or application to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to suffer either in others; We do freely declare for our selves, and the Army, That we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and stand by the Parliament, in the things voted last munday concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for setling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom without the King, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

Windsor, Jan. 9. 1647.

The

The Parliament alſo made a publick Declaration about the beginning of *February*, for ſatisfaction of all men in general, concerning the cauſes of their Votes; in which (beſides the Kings former miſdeeds, related before in other Remonſtrances) they declare how often they had treated with him, That although they were never forced to any Treaty, yet no leſs then ſeven times they had applied themſelves to the King with Propoſitions, containing nothing but what was neceſſary to the peace and ſecurity of the Kingdom: How they had offered him Propoſitions at *Oxford*, afterwards at *Uxbridge*, and then (after he was quite vanquiſhed in war) at *Newcaſtle*; and laſtly, after the departure of the Scots, at *Hampton Court*. All which hath been perpetually denied by him.

By ſuch a Declaration did the Parliament endeavour to appeaſe the unquiet mindes of people: but no Arguments nor Decrees could ſerve to aſſwage their fury, nor prevent the ſtorms which were then ariſing. Force onely was required, and wiſe Councel to ſearch out conſpiracies, and ſuppreſs the Tumults which were feared. Therefore part of the Army was quartered about *Weſtminſter*, the *Mews*, and other places of the City: And the month be-

before these high transactions, some Lords and Commons were chosen out of both Houses to be a Committee for the safety of the Commonwealth, and sate together at *Derby*-house, in the same place where the Committee of both Kingdoms (*England* and *Scotland*) had sitten before. To this Committee power was given to suppress Tumults and Insurrections; and to that purpose, to raise Forces as they saw occasion.

The Members of this Committee were seven Lords, namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick* and *Manchester*, the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, and *Roberts*; and thirteen of the House of Commons, Mr. *Perpoint*, Mr. *Fines*, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior and Junior, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *John Evelin*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Brown*.

The Parliament, though victorious, though guarded with a gallant Army, no forces visibly appearing against it, yet was never in more danger. All men began in the Spring to prophecy, that the Summer would be a hot one, in respect of Wars, seeing how the Countries were divided in Factions, the Scots full of threats, the City of *London* as full of unquietness. And more sad things were feared

where

where leaſt was ſeen ; rumours every day frightning the people, of ſecret Plots, and treaſonable meetings. From whence every man began to foreſee ſlaughter and war, as Mariners uſe to foreſee a riſing Tempeſt.

— Cum longo per multa volumina tractu
Æſtuat unda minax, flatuſq; incerta futuri,
Turbida teſtantur conceptos æquora ventos.

The threatning waves in tracks voluminous
Boil up ; the Seas by blaſts uncertain blown,
Betoken many windes conception.

The King's Party began to ſwell with great hopes, and look upon themſelves not as vanquiſh'd, but Conquerors; nor could they forbear vaunting everywhere, but talked of the Kings riſing, and ruine of the Parliament. The ſame thing ſeemed to be the wiſh of thoſe whom they called Presbyterians, who were ready to ſacrifice themſelves and their Cauſe to their hatred againſt the Independents; who wiſhed that quite undone, which themſelves could not do ; and deſired, that liberty might be quite taken away by the King, rather then vindicated by the Independents.

The King himſelf, though ſet aſide, and confined within the Iſle of *Wight*, was more formidable

midable this Summer, then in any other, when he was followed by his ſtrongeſt Armies. The name of King had now a further operation, and pity of the Vulgar gave a greater Majeſty to his Perſon. Prince *Charls* alſo by his abſence, and the name of baniſhment, was more deſireable by thoſe Vulgar people, and by his Commiſſions (which his Father privately ſent him) as if armed with lawful power, did eaſily command thoſe that were willing; and by commands under his name, was able to raiſe (as will afterward appear) not onely Tumults, but Wars.

The beginning was by Tumults, and in the City, from whence alſo the following Inſurrections in the neer Counties had their original; and was by Apprentices, and looſe young people playing in *More*-fields upon a Sunday, the ninth day of *April*, who diſpiſing the authority of Magiſtrates, ſet upon a Captain of the trained Bands, and with ſtones beat him out of the fields; and taking away his colours, with them they marched, a diſorderly rout (gathering up many of the ſcum of the people as they paſſed) to *Weſtminſter*; crying out as they went, that they were for King *Charls*. But they by a Troop of Horſe out of the *Mews* were quickly ſcattered. But running back, and getting into *London* (while other diſorderly fellows

fellows came into them) they remained all night in a whole body, filling the City with fears; ſo that the Lord Major, a man cordial to the Parliament, was enforced to eſcape privily out of his Houſe, and flye into the Tower. In the morning, General *Fairfax*, to cruſh this miſchief in the beginning, before the wound were grown incurable, by the concourſe of wicked men, ſent a part of his Army into the City; who vanquiſhing the *Seditious*, and driving them into *Leaden Hall* (of whom ſome they carried away Priſoners) with great valour, and no leſs prudence, quieted the Tumult. For delivering the City from ſo horrid a danger, thanks were given to the General, both by the Parliament, and the honeſt ſober Citizens, and a thouſand pounds in money given as a gratuity to the Souldiers.

In the very Petitions alſo, at that Malignant time, nothing but ſedition & War was contained; as appeared in thoſe of *Surrey* and *Kent*. From *Surrey*, about three hundred came to *Weſtminſter* on the twenty ſixth of *May*, bringing a Petition to the Parliament, in which they did not ſo much entreat, as command in high words, *That the King ſhould preſently be reſtored to his former dignity, and come to* Weſtminſter *with Honour, Freedom and ſafety, to treat perſonally there about all Controverſies; that the Army*

Army should presently be disbanded, and the free people of England *be governed by their known Laws and Statutes*; with other things of this nature. Nor would these *Surrey*-men, that brought the Petition, endure any delay, no, not so much, as till the Parliament could debate about it; but being extream insolent, cursing and railing openly at the Parliament, they set upon the Souldiers who were their guard; of whom, some they hurt, and one they killed. Upon which, a troop of Horse from the *Mews*, and some Foot, were sent to help their Fellows, who soon vanquished and scattered these Country Fellows, and slew some of them. This was the end of that seditious Petition of *Surrey*.

At that time the Kentish-men were coming with a Petition of that nature; who being in number of a good Army, seemed afar off to threaten the Parliament. They had been the more stirred, by reason of a severe punishment of some of their Country-men, who had lately raised a sedition about *Canterbury*: against these Kentish-men the Parliament provided no smaller defence, then the General *Fairfax* himself, who with seven Regiments marched away to *Black Heath* neer *Greenwich*; of whose success we shall speak afterwards.

The

The Parliament had before deſigned, that General *Fairfax* ſhould march into the North to defend thoſe parts; but nearer dangers detained him in the South. For at this time ſcarce any part of *England* was quiet; in every place tumults, inſurrections, and Wars were threatned. To quell all theſe, (which was wonderful) one onely Army ſufficed, by the great bleſſing of God upon it. Which Army, as when it was conjoyned, in one year, *Anno Dom.* 1646. it quite vanquiſhed and broke all the Kings flouriſhing ſtrength, and reduced the Kingdom to the obedience of Parliament: ſo at this time with no leſs fortitude and felicity, being divided into parts, in all corners of the Kingdom, it continued Victorious; ſo that fortitude and fortune might ſeeme in that Army (as the ſoul in an humane body) to be all in the whole, and all in every part. For beſides thoſe light, and ſoon-ſuppreſſed inſurrections of *Suffolke* in the Eaſt, and of *Stamford* in the mid-land part, by Col. *Wait* and others, and of *Cornwal* in the Weſt by Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, more great and formidable inſurrections happened in the Northern parts, and in *Wales*.

In the beginning of *May* the North was infeſted by ſome of the Kings Commanders;

Sir *Thomas Glenham*, who had before governed ſo many Gariſons of the Kings, as *Carliſle*, *York*, and *Oxford*; and loſt them all; had now, with no better ſucceſs, ſeized upon *Carliſle*. And at the ſame time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* (of whom we ſpake before) had ſeized upon *Berwick*, and fortified it. The ſtrong Caſtle alſo of *Pomfret* was then taken by the Royaliſts, who by treachery had ſlain the Governour thereof. To manage theſe Wars in the North, *Lambert*, a ſtout Commander, and Major-General of thoſe Counties, was left with ſome Regiments of the *Fairfaxian* Army.

But dangers of a more horrid degree ſeemed to threaten the Parliament in *Wales*; not onely from ancient, and formerly-vanquiſhed Enemies; but thoſe, who had before been Parliament-Commanders, and had now forſaken their ſide and cauſe; namely, the Colonels, *Poyer* and *Fowel*, and him that had ſo often ſo well deſerved of the Parliament, *Laughorn* himſelf. *Poyer*, who had hitherto kept the Town and ſtrong Caſtle of *Pembrook* for the Parliament, now (ſtrengthned by the concourſe of malignant people) with great animoſity maintained it againſt them. *Laughorn* a Commander of great eſteem in thoſe parts, had raiſed a gallant Army, under whom Co-

Colonel *Powel* ſerved. In a ſmall time (the *Welch* coming in apace to him) *Laughorns* Army was ſo increaſed, that he muſtered 8000. Both *Laughorn* & *Poyer* (as it afterward appeared) entred into this War by a Commiſſion received from Prince *Charles*; whoſe Auſpicy proved no better then his Fathers. Colonel *Horton* with a ſmall part of the *Fairfaxian* Army, and ſome other raiſed forces, went againſt them with three thouſand men. But it pleaſed God, the giver of all Victories, that the ſucceſs was not according to the number; for *Horton* on the eighth day of *May*, between the two Towns of *Fagans* and *Peterſtone* encountring with *Laughorn*, totally routed, and put to flight his whole Army, conſiſting of eight thouſand Horſe and Foot. A great ſlaughter was made upon the place, and the number of Priſoners (being three thouſand) equalled the number of the Victorious Army; among whom were taken about an hundred and fifty Officers; a great number of Colours, and quantity of Arms, with all their Ordnance.

There was ſcarce a more happy Victory (as the condition of things then ſtood) to the Parliament, then this of *Hortons*; for which, by order of Parliament, a publike thankſgiving to God was celebrated. *Laughorn* and *Po-*

*wel*eſcaping by flight, got to *Poyer* into *Pembrook* Caſtle. *Cromwell* himſelf about the beginning of *May* was ſent into *Wales* with ſome Regiments, who on the eleventh day of that moneth came to *Chepſtow* Caſtle, which he reſolved to beſiege; but haſtening to *Pembrook*, he left Colonel *Ewer* at *Chepſtow*, who within fifteen days took that Caſtle, and killed *Kemiſh*, to whom before the place had been betrayed; and *Cromwel* on the twentieth of *May* came to *Pembrook*.

Poyer relying on the ſtrength of the place, refuſed all conditions, knowing beſides, that time was now pretious to the Parliament, being then entangled in ſo many difficulties at once. But *Cromwel* not being accuſtomed to deſpair of any thing, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his work from the Sea, by the great induſtry of Sir *George Ayſcough*, who commanded there a ſquadron of the *Navy*. Sir *George Ayſcough* with much care and diligence from time to time furniſhed *Leiutenant* General *Cromwel* with great Guns, with proviſions of all ſorts from *Briſtol*, and other places, and every thing neceſſary for a Siege.

While theſe things were acting in *Wales*, General *Fairfax*, ſent (as before was ſaid) with ſeven Regiments to ſuppreſs the Kenriſh Riſers

Riſers, purſued them towards *Rocheſter*. A great number of Kentiſh men not far from *Graveſend* were gotten together into an Army; with whom were above twenty Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of the County; and among them divers commanders formerly of the King Armies; though they were more in number, they durſt not give the General battel; but ſome marched away to *Maidſtone*, a few kept together about *Rocheſter*, another part of them went to *Dover*, and beſieged that Caſtle; to raiſe that Siege the General ſent Colonel *Rich*, and Sir *Michael Leveſy*; who very happily performed that work.

The General himſelf marched with his Army to *Maidſtone*. Into that Town about two thouſand of the Riſers were gotten, and reſolved to make good the place. The General likewiſe prepared to beſiege them. In no chance of War before, was the vertue of *Fairfax* and his Souldiers more tryed, nor a Victory bought with greater danger. For after that the Souldiers had broke into the Town (which was done with great difficulty) they found a War in every ſtreet, and Ordnance planted againſt them, and were put to fight for every corner of it. At laſt the General, with the loſs of forty of his men, took the Town, two hundred of the Enemies be-

ing ſlain, and about fourteen hundred taken priſoners; four hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Arms were taken. One thing was wonderful, that an Army of many thouſand Kentiſh men, more in number then the Generals Army, coming from *Rocheſter* to the aid of their friends, yet notwithſtanding, when they came neer, durſt not venture to aſſiſt them; but ſtood in ſight, while the General took the Town. Publike thanks were given to God, by order of Parliament, for this great victory.

Now all *Kent* ſeemed to be quieted (except ſome Caſtles, which alſo within a ſhort time were taken, or yielded to the Parliament) when ſuddenly a new head of this *Hydra* ſprung up; the Lord *Goring* gathering together a remnant of the *Kentiſh* Army, with about two thouſand men, had marched as far as *Greenwich*, from whence he ſent ſome to ſee how the Citizens of *London* ſtood affected to the buſineſs; but whilſt he ſtaid expecting an anſwer, ſome Troops of the Army came in ſight, upon which *Goring* and all his company fled: the Horſemen purſuing, took ſome Booty and divers priſoners: the *Kentiſh* men for the moſt part fled to their own Houſes: The Lord *Goring*, with about five hundred horſe, flying from *Greenwich*, and getting Boats, croſſed the Thames into *Eſſex*, where

(as

(as if the Fates ſought out new Victories for *Fairfax* every where) the Lord *Capel*, with Forces out of *Hartfortſhire*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* with a body of Horſe, at *Chensford* in *Eſſex* joyned themſelves to *Goring*, to whom within a ſhort time divers, that formerly had been the King Souldiers, and many *Londoners*, with others, flocked. Some alſo of higher rank, as Mr. *Haſtings*, brother to *Huntingdon*; and *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*.

The General *Fairfax*, croſſing the Thames at *Graveſend*, paſſed with a part of his Army into *Eſſex*; and ſending for the reſt of his Forces out of *Kent* and *London*, purſued the Enemies; whom at laſt he drove into *Colcheſter*, and in that Town beſieged them: where (becauſe it proved a long ſiege) we leave him for a time, and paſs to other actions.

The greateſt of all dangers which threatned the Parliament, was from the North, not contained within the bounds of *England* onely, but from the Kingdom of *Scotland*; Major General *Lambert*, the chief Commander in the North, labouring to ſuppreſs *Glenham* and *Langdale*, wrought ſo much, that he kept them within the bounds of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*; but they expected the march of the Scotiſh Army, to which they intended to

joyn themselves. *Lambert*, too weak to oppose so great a Force, omitted no diligence in strengthening himself from the neighbour-Counties, who were very forward to his assistance, especially *Lancashire*, who raised two Regiments of Horse, and four of Foot, to be conducted by Major General *Ashton*, and joyn with *Lambert* in *Yorkeshire*. The English Malignants alone were not very formidable in the North, but that the Kingdome of *Scotland* joyned with them against the Parliament. Wars were made from another Kingdome, that *Cromwel* might be victorious as well against Forraigners, as Englishmen.

The faction of Duke *Hamliton* was then prevalent in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by whom Designs were hatched, dangerous to both Kingdoms, contrary to peace, and contrary (for so it was judged by the Church of *Scotland*) even to the Covenant it self. *England* was to be invaded, and a great Army raised under the Command of Duke *Hamliton*, a man ambitious and subtle. The English Malignants (for it was given out that they took Arms for the King) were invited to joyn with them, and pay promised to those that would serve; all this was done, though *Argyle*, *Louden*, and the honester Lords protested against their proceedings; and the Kirk

Kirk of *Scotland* curſed that War as impious.

But the greater part prevailed, who therefore ſtiled themſelves the Parliament of *Scotland* by a kinde of right; and to curb men of the adverſe faction, a Commitee was made, with power given to them to puniſh all thoſe who ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Decrees of the Parliament; and a penalty ſet down, to be inflicted upon all Miniſters, who ſhould from their Pulpits teach the people otherwiſe: by which means it was brought to paſs, that many Miniſters were ſilenced, others puniſhed; and ſome Lords of the other faction retired themſelves to their own ſtrengths; yet could they not ſtop the mouths of all the Miniſters; ſome with a conſtant Zeal denounced the wrath of God againſt that Army of *Hamilton*; and by the wretched ſucceſs of that unfortuneate Army, the curſes of the Kirk ſeemed not in vain, no more then of old the Tribunes curſe upon the Parthian Expedition of *Marcus Craſſus*.

Conſpiracies by Land (though over the whole Iland) againſt the Parliament of *England*, ſeemed not enough, unleſs the Sea alſo had rebelled againſt them: Divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Fleet revolted from the Parliament about the beginning of *June*, and ſet the Vice-Admiral *Rainsborough* aſhore

ſhore; affirming they were for the King, and would ſerve Prince *Charles*, ſailing towards *Holland*, where the Prince then was, and with him his brother the Duke of *York*; who not long before fled privately (being perſwaded thereto by Letters from the King his Father) out of *London*, where he had been kept with great obſervance and ſtate by the Parliament.

The Parliament were much troubled at the revolt of theſe Ships, as a thing of extream danger; and ſent to the Earl of *Warwick* to take the Command of their remaining Navy, and reduce the reſt if he could. *Warwick* cheerfully accepted the employment, and was by the Parliament created (which Title he had born at the beginning of theſe Wars) Lord High Admiral of *England*.

Whileſt *Warwick* was ſerving the Parliament, his Brother the Earl of *Holland* unhappily riſe in Arms againſt it. Relying (as it ſeems) upon the opportunity of time, while the Navy was revolted, whileſt *Fairfax* in *Kent*, *Cromwel* in *Wales* were buſied: he built likewiſe upon the affections of the Citizens of *London*; of whom he made tryal; and joyning the young Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother with others to him, he appeared in Arms by *Kingſton* with five hundred

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Horſe; but by Sir *Michael Leveſey*, and others, who took occaſion by the fore-lock, he was thereput to flight, & the Lord *Francis Villiers* was ſlain; *Holland* flying with the remainder of his Horſe, was within few dayes after, at the Town of St. *Needs*, by Col. *Scroop* (whom the General had ſent from *Colcheſter* for that purpoſe) altogether ſubdued; *Dalbeer*, and ſome other Gentlemen ſlain, *Holland* himſelf was taken, and by the Parliament committed priſoner to *Warwick*-Caſtle.

At the ſame time *Roſſiter* alſo obtained for the Parliament a gallant victory over the forces of *Pomfret*-Caſtle, whom as they were pillaging the Country, and plundering up and down, being a thouſand Horſe, *Roſſiter* fell upon, vanquiſhed, and took priſoners all their Commanders, took all their Arms and Baggage. *Roſſiter* himſelf (which for a time abated the joy of this victory) was grievouſly wounded, but he recovered.

Theſe victories obtained everywhere by the Parliament, though ſome of them may ſeem ſmall, yet will appear great, and worthy of commemoration to all thoſe who conſider how much the Commonwealth, if but one of theſe fights had miſcarried, had been endangered: and the Parliament it ſelf, weighing the number and variety of their hazards, may

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the better acknowledge the continuance of Gods providence, and his very hand with them. By these little victories also a way was made for higher Trophies, and an absolute subjugation of all their Enemies, which about this time miraculously happened.

For now most opportunely was *Pembrook*-Castle surrendred to *Cromwel*, which *Poyer* and *Langhorn*, confiding in the strength of the place, had so long stifly maintained. But at last, brought to extremities, they delivered it without conditions, rendring themselves Prisoners at mercy. Which fell out at the same time (Fates calling *Cromwel* to a greater atcheivement) that Duke *Hamilton* with a numerous Army of Scots had entred *England*, & about the beginning of *of July*, was further strengthned by the addition of *Langdales* Forces. *Hamilton* marched above five and twenty thousand strong, striking a great terror everywhere; scarce in the whole time of these wars did any Army exercise greater cruelty toward the poor inhabitants of *England*. And yet when the Parliament debated concerning this Army, the House of Peers could hardly be brought to declare them Enemies. For the House of Commons had declared, *That the Scots that under Duke* Hamilton *Invaded* England, *were Enemies; and that all the English which*

which joyned with them were Traitors to their Country. To which Vote the Lords at laſt, after much debate, aſſented. The chief Citizens of *London*, and others, called Presbyterians (though the Presbyterain Scots abominated this Scotiſh Army) wiſhed good ſucceſs to theſe Scots, no leſs then the Malignants did. Whence let the Reader judge of the times.

Lambert, though too weak in all probability for ſo potent an enemy, was not diſcouraged; but reſolved to oppoſe the preſent danger, and, if need required, to fight the Scots: but he daily expected the coming of *Cromwel*, to whoſe conduct, this victory was reſerved. In the mean time, with prudent retreats, & ſome Skirmiſhes, not onely with *Langdale*, but *Hamilton* himſelf, he ſpun out the time ſo long, until that *Hamilton*'s great Army having on the twentieth of *Auguſt* entred into *Lancaſhire*, *Cromwel* was arrived with his forces, who, with the addition of *Lambert*'s ſtrength made an Army of almoſt ten thouſand.

This famous battel was fought neer to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, in which all the forces of *Hamilton* and *Langdale* were vanquiſhed and put to flight, whom the Conqueror purſuing as far as *Warrington*, (about twenty miles) and killing many in the chaſe, took Lieutenant Ge-

General *Baily* prisoner, with a great part of the Scottish Army, granting them onely quarter for their lives. In this battel were slain three thousand Scots, and taken prisoners about nine thousand: Duke *Hamilton* himself within few dayes after, having fled with a good party of Horse to *Uttoxeter*, was there taken prisoner by the Lord *Grey*, and Colonel *Wait*: with *Hamilton* were taken about three thousand Horse. *Langdale* also, not long after, was taken prisoner in a little Village, by *Widnerpool* a Parliament-Captain. This was the success of *Hamilton*'s invading *England*.

Presently after this famous victory of *Cromwel*, *Colchester* was surrendred to General *Fairfax*: three months almost had the General lien before that Town, with a small Army, in respect of the number of the besieged, in a lamentable rainy season; where the Souldiers patience, no less then their valour, was tried. *Goring*, *Capel*, *Hastings*, *Lucas*, and the other Commanders, until they were reduced to extream necessity, would not hear of yielding, but despised all conditions: their courages were long upheld by vain hopes (besides the smalness of the General's Army) of aid by insurrections at *London*, and of the success of *Hamilton*, *Langdale*, or the E. of *Holland*; and more especially, of succor by Sea from Prince *Charls*, who was

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now poſſeſſed of thoſe Ships which had revolted from the Parliament; and having taken divers Merchants Ships beſides, was himſelf in perſon, with no contemptible Fleet, come into the narrow Seas.

But about the end of *Auguſt* the beſieged in *Colcheſter*, deſpairing of any relief, and reduc'd to extremities, (for they had long fed upon Horſe-fleſh) yielded themſelves to the mercy of the Conqueror. Two onely ſuffered, Sir *Ch. Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, who were ſhot to death. *Goring*, *Capel*, and *Haſtings* were ſent to priſon, to abide the doom of Parliament.

Thus was the Parliament everywhere victorious by Land, nor were they unhappy by Sea. For conſidering that revolt of the Navy, it was to be accounted a great felicity, that no more revolted after them, or no farther miſchief enſued. But the Earl of *Warwick* was very careful; and it pleaſed God by this fright, rather then loſs, to let the Parliament know the frailty of their own condition.

About the end of *Auguſt*, *Warwick* with a good Fleet was in the River *Thames*; when Prince *Charls* with a greater force, about twenty ſail, was come upon the River againſt him, and ſent a command to *Warwick* to take down his Flag, and yield obedience to him as ſupream Admiral, having the King's Com-

Commiſſion to that purpoſe. But *Warwick* true to the Parliament, obeyed not the Summons; nor was there any convenient place in that narrow Channel (eſpecially for the larger Veſſels) to make a naval fight; and *Warwick*'s Fleet not ſtrong enough to encounter the Prince, ſtayed for the coming of their friends the *Porchmouth*-Fleet. The government, and bringing about of that Fleet was committed to the care of Sir *George Ayſcough*; nor did the Lord Admiral *Warwick* know certainly what was become of that *Porchmouth*-Fleet, whether that alſo were revolted, for ſo the rumonrs were every day in *London*. And certain it is, that the Mariners being ſo ill-affected in general, and daily corrupted by the Townſmen in *Porchmouth*, that Fleet had been loſt from the Parliament (by which means the other could not have ſubſiſted) if the diſcretion of Sir *George Ayſcough*, his eſtimation among the Sea-men, and their love to him, had not (happily for the Parliament) then appeared. He wiſely ſounding the affections of them, caſhiering the worſt, to prevent the ſpreading of that contagion, did with many endeavours, and great difficulty, ſo well prevail at laſt, that he confirmed the whole Fleet in the Parliaments obedience; And very ſucceſsfully ſailing by Prince *Charles*

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in the night, brought all his Ships ſafe to the Earl of *Warwick*. Who now ſtrengthened by *Ayſcoughs* coming with the *Porchmouth* Fleet, reſolved to make toward his Enemies. But finding that the Prince for want of Victual, was gone back into *Holland*, he followed him, not long after, with the whole Fleet, to *Gore*, upon the Coaſt.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to *Hamilton*, following his Victory, entered into *Scotland*, to help *Arguile*, and *Leven* againſt the Forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike*; Which he effected with great felicity, and reduced thoſe Gariſons, which the Scots and Engliſh Malignants had before ſeized, namely *Berwick* and *Carliſle* into the Parliaments power. Then going into *Scotland*, to conſult about the ſafety of both Kingdoms, he was moſt honourably entertained in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Many of the Scotiſh Nobility and Gentry were ſent from the Commitee of Eſtate to meet *Cromwel*; who, after congratulatory Orations made, conducted him to *Edinburgh*; where *Arguile*, *Leven*, and other Lords entertained him, and the reſt of the Engliſh Commanders, with a moſt magnificent banquet in the Caſtle. Thanks were given by the Miniſters to *Cromwel*, who was by them ſtyled the preſerver of *Scotland*,

under God. Such also is the testimony of the Committee of Estate, written to the English Parliament concerning *Cromwel*; presently after, the forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike* were disbanded, and all other forces, except fifteen hundred Horse and Foot; which were to stand under the Command of *Leven*, untill the Kigdome were setled. It was also decreed both by the Committee of Estate, and Assembly of the Kirk, *For preservation of Religion, and bratherly amity with the English Nation*, That no man, which had joyned with *Hamilton* in the late invasion of *England*, should be chosen into the new Parliament, (which was then called) or into the Assembly of the Kirk. For the Faction of *Hamilton* were judged Enemies to Religion, and both the Kingdoms.

It was worthy of noting, that that English Army, which were by the religious Party of *Scotland* called *A bundle of Sectaries*, and reviled by all opprobrious names, should now be acknowledged by the same Scots to be the Instruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*. The greatest Peers of *Scotland* also did ingenuously confess their Rashness and Errour the year before, for accusing this Army as Rebellious, for acting the very same things in *Eng-*

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land, which now themſelves were enforced to act in *Scotland*, for preſervation of that Kingdom.

This great change in the Council of *Scotland* had been to be wondred at, if the change that then happened in the Engliſh Parliament had not been a greater Miracle. Who would not be amazed at this, That *Cromwel*, for vanquiſhing a Scotiſh Army, by which he delivered *England* from the worſt of Miſeries, ſhould be acknowledged there the Preſerver of *Scotland*, and not here allowed the Preſerver of *England*! and that the ſame Victory of his againſt Scots, ſhould pleaſe the Presbyterian Scots for Religions ſake, and for Religions ſake diſpleaſe the Presbyterians of *England*! *Oedipus* himſelf cannot unriddle this; eſpecially if he judge according to Reaſon, not according to what Envie, Hate, and embittering Faction can work.

The face of the Engliſh Parliament was now ſuddenly changed; and the Votes which paſſed the year before, namely, of *making no more Addreſſes to the King*, were annulled and made void: thoſe Votes, upon which the Parliament (as before is ſaid) had publiſhed a Declaration to inform the World concerning the reaſon and neceſſity of their proceedings. Their Counſels were now quite changed, and

new Addreſſes to the King (the formerly impeached members being again reſtored to their Seats) with more ſubmiſſive earneſtneſs then ever before were reſolved on. The Houſes then fell into a Debate about propoſitions to be framed, and a Treaty to be had with the King (before he had given any ſatisfaction or ſecurity to the people) perſonally at *London*, with Honour, Freedom, and ſafety.

But that was not carried. Onely a Treaty was Voted to be in the Ile of *VVight*, and that the King ſhould chooſe the place within that Iland. Therefore on the fourth of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Middleſex*, with two of the Houſe of Cõmons were ſent to the King. Who made anſwer, that he was very ready to treat of Peace; and named *Newport* in that Iland to be the place. For that buſineſs Commiſſioners were preſently choſen out of both Houſes; Five Peers, *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, *Salisbury*, *Middleſex*, and *Say*. Ten of the Commons, Lord *VVainman*, *Hollis*, *Perpoint*, *Vane* junior, *Grimſtone*, *Pots*, *Brown*, *Crew*, *Glyn*, and *Buckley*.

The King, during this treaty, found not onely great reverence and obſervance from the Commiſſioners of Parliament: but was attended with a Prince-like retinue; and was allowed what ſervans he ſhould chooſe, to

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make up the Splendor of a Court. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls, *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, with other Gentlemen of note, and a competent number of them, waited in his train; his own Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to adviſe him in the Treaty, were allowed there.

But while this Treaty proceeded, and ſome months were ſpent in debates, conceſſions, and denyals; behold, another ſtrange alteration happened, which threw the King from the heighth of honour into the loweſt condition. So ſtrangely did one contrary provoke another. Whilſt ſome laboured to advance the King into his Throne again upon ſlender conditions, or none at all; others weighing what the King had done, what the Commonwealth, and eſpecially what the Parliaments friends might ſuffer, if he ſhould come to raign again with unchanged affections, deſired to take him quite away. From hence divers and frequent Petitions were preſented to the Parliament, and ſome to the General *Fairfax*, *That whoſoever had offended againſt the Commonwealth, no perſons excepted, might come to Judgement.*

The firſt Petition of that kinde was preſented to the Parliament upon the eleventh day of *September*. The Title of the Petition was,

To the most honourable the Commons of England *assembled in Parliament :*

The humble Petition of many Thousands of well-affected men in the Cities of London *and* Westminster, *in the Borough of* Southwark, *and the neigbouring Villages, Inhabitants.*

This Petition, which broke the Ice, was followed, in the space of one month, by many other Petitions of the same kinde, from divers Counties of *England*, and several Regiments of the Army ; namely, from the County of *Oxford*, on the 30 of *September* : from the County of *Leicester*, on the second of *October:* from many Commanders in the Army, on the 4 of *October*. Three other Petitions brought upon one day ; namely, the 10 of *October:* another from *Ireton*'s Regiment, on the 18 of *October:* and another from *Inglesbies* Regiment, on the 21 day of the same month.

The scope of all these Petitions was the same, That Justice might be done, and that the Chief Authors of so much bloodshed in *England*, and so many calamities to the Nation ; namely, those, who had been the raisers of this Second War, and were now in the Parliaments custody, *Hamilton*, *Holland*, *Capel*, *Goring*, and the rest, might be punished. But especially they intreat, that the King himself, the Chief offender, the raiser of the whole War,

War, and author of *Englands* calamity, might be called to Judgement: *That the Parliament would give them leave to remember what the Parliament it ſelf had the yeer before decreed and declared againſt the King; and what the Kirk of* Scotland *in* 1646. *had declared againſt the ſame King; That he was guilty (beſides other horrid Crimes) of ſhedding the blood of many thouſands of his beſt Subjects. Which things, if they were true, and not at all puniſhed, nor any ſatisfaction made; it might be feared would provoke (by ſo much injuſtice) the wrath of God, who had delivered that King (after ſo bloody a War) into their hands. They therefore humbly intreat the Parliament, that they would not ungratefully throw away ſo many miraculous deliverances of Almighty God, nor betray themſelves and their faithful friends, by deceitful Treaties, to an implacable Enemy.*

This was the ſenſe of all thoſe Petitions, which, during the Treaty, were daily preſented to the Parliament, and by them laid aſide. But at laſt, theſe Deſires prevailed; eſpecially after that the Remonſtrance of the Lord General, and the General Council of Officers held at St. *Albans* the 16 of *November* 1648. was preſented to the Parliament on the 20 of the ſame *November*.

But by what means, or what degrees, it came

came at laſt ſo far, as that the King was brought to trial, condemned, and beheaded: becauſe the full ſearch and enarration of ſo great a buſineſs would make an Hiſtory by it ſelf, it cannot well be brought into this BREVIARY; which having paſſed over ſo long a time, ſhall here conclude.

FINIS.